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A DECISION OF THE NEW YORK COURT OF APPEALS.

IN the 176th and at this writing the latest, volume of the New York Reports, at page 201, may be found the official presentation of the somewhat exploited case of "The People, etc., *vs.* Pierson," with the opinion in full of the Court of Appeals finally disposing of the whole matter. The opinion appears to have been written by Judge Haight, and was concurred in by Chief Justice Parker and Associates Bartlett, Vann, Cullen and Werner; Martin, J., not voting. The facts we take from the opinion as follows:

"The defendant and his wife lived at Valhalla, near White Plains, New York, with an infant girl sixteen and a half months old, whom they had adopted. In January, 1901, the child contracted whooping-cough which continued to afflict her until about the 20th day of February, at which time catarrhal pneumonia developed, resulting in death on the 23d day of February, 1901. The defendant testified that for about forty-eight hours before the child died he observed that her symptoms were of a dangerous character, and yet he did not send for or call a physician to treat her, although he was able financially to do so. His reason for not calling a physician was that he believed in Divine healing which, he believed, could be accomplished by prayer. He stated that he belonged to the Christian Catholic church of Chicago, that he did not believe in physicians, and his religious faith led him to believe that the child would get well by prayer. He believed in disease, but believed that religion was a cure of disease."

Notwithstanding the prisoner's attempt to justify his

- neglect, he was—very properly, we think—convicted; and, although the Appellate Division reversed the judgment against him, the Court of Appeals has, in turn, reversed that reversal, and affirmed the judgment of conviction in the trial court.

We are not concerning ourselves in any way with any legal question in relation to the trial, or the indictment or the statute of 1881 under which it was framed; and present the foregoing facts simply for the purpose of showing our readers the nature of the issue involved in the case. But we are, we confess, interested in that part of the opinion which professes to deal with medical practice in the Middle Ages, with physicians and their status, with the conditions of medical science then existing, and "the mode of treating sickness recognized by the Church;" and that part of the opinion we now reproduce, word for word, as we find it in the report:

"We are thus brought to a consideration of what is meant by the term 'medical attendance.' Does it mean a regularly licensed physician, or may some other person render 'medical attendance?' The foundation of medical science was laid by Hippocrates in Greece five hundred years (1) before the Christian era. His discoveries, experiences and observations were further developed and taught in the schools of Alexandria and Salerno, and have come down to us through all the intervening centuries, yet medicine as a science made but little advance in northern Europe

(1) As Hippocrates *was not born* till the year 460 B. C., his scientific activities could not have had much result for several decades of years afterwards; and if he lived to be 110 (or more) years of age, as some writers claim, his "*foundation of medical science*" was probably not accomplished till well down towards the year 350 B. C. ("Anthon's Classical Dictionary," Art, "Hippocrates.")

for many years thereafter (2); practically none until the dawn of the eighteenth century. After the adoption of Christianity by Rome and the conversion of the greater part of Europe there commenced a growth of legends of miracles connected with the lives of great men who became benefactors of humanity. Some of these have been canonized by the Church, and are to-day looked upon by a large portion of the Christian world as saints who had miraculous power. The great majority of miracles recorded had reference to the healing of the sick through Divine intervention, and so extensively was this belief rooted in the minds of the people that for a thousand years or more it was considered dishonorable to practise physic or surgery. At the Lateran Council of the Church, held at the beginning of the thirteenth century, physicians were forbidden, under pain of expulsion from the Church, to undertake medical treatment without calling in a priest; and as late as two hundred and fifty years thereafter Pope Pius V renewed the command of Pope Innocent by enforcing the penalties. (3) The curing by miracles, or by interposition of Divine power, continued throughout Christian Europe during the entire period of the Middle Ages, and was the mode of treating sickness recognized by the Church. This power to heal was not confined to the Catholics alone, but was also in later years invoked by Protestants and by rulers. We are told that Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, the Stuarts, James I and Charles I, all possessed the power to cure epilepsy, scrofula and

(2) *Thereafter!* After *what?* After the Hippocratic discoveries, etc., had reached Alexandria? Or, after they had (centuries later) been exploited at Salerno? Or (centuries later still), after they had "come down to us"? Syntax and legal construction connect a relative term (*thereafter*) with—and only with—the nearest antecedent term (*after the discoveries, etc., had come down to us.*)

In the course of the next line or two, we have the phrase, "*After the adoption of Christianity by Rome AND the conversion of the greater part of Europe,*" etc.; does the Court possibly regard these two events as contemporaneous?

(3) Pope Innocent III died in July, 1216; Saint Pius V became Pope on the 7th of January, 1566—*three hundred and fifty years afterwards.*

other diseases known as the king's evil; and there is incontrovertible evidence that Charles II, the most thorough debauchee who ever sat on the English throne, possessed this miraculous gift in a marked degree, and that for the purpose of effecting cures he touched nearly a hundred thousand persons.

"With the commencement of the eighteenth century a number of important discoveries were made in medicine and surgery which effected a great change in public sentiment, and these have been followed by numerous discoveries of specifics in drugs and compounds. These discoveries have resulted in the establishment of schools for experiments and colleges throughout the civilized world for the special education of those who have chosen the practice of medicine for their profession. These schools and colleges have gone a long way in establishing medicine as a science, and such it has come to be recognized in the law of our land. By the middle of the eighteenth century the custom of calling upon practitioners of medicine in case of serious illness had become quite general in England, France and Germany, and, indeed, to a considerable extent throughout Europe and in this country. From that time on, the practice among the people of engaging physicians has continued to increase until it has come to be regarded as a duty, devolving upon persons having the care of others, to call upon medical assistance in case of serious illness."

It is hard for us to realize that the Court of Appeals could have given out a statement in form and expression so needlessly offensive, even if the substance of it were true. And when we find that its substance is not true—that its alleged facts are not facts at all, but sheer perversions of the real facts—when we consider, too, how abundant are the authentic sources of information on the subject, not only in Albany, but in every city and town in the State where there is a reasonably well-equipped library—we are simply amazed that six most accomplished and learned gentlemen, members of the great Court of Appeals of New York, could have sent forth a statement in manner and matter so objectionable.

It seems to us that the intrinsic improbability, not to say impossibility, of the alleged facts should, in trained legal and practical minds like theirs, have suggested a suspicion—a doubt—an inquiry—before they so positively committed themselves to assertions so unfounded. (4)

It may occur to the reader that, in considering a law passed in the year of grace 1881, the Court has travelled pretty far afield, going back through the Middle Ages to the School of Salerno, to the School of Alexandria, even to the days of Hippocrates himself, "five hundred years before the Christian era:"—but let that pass! Let pass, too, the infelicities of diction (to use no harsher term) that start doubts as to what the opinion was really intended to mean. Let pass the peculiar, shifty and evasive style, here and there, which, while it leaves no doubt whatever as to the ugly nature of the suggestion or conclusion intended to be conveyed, yet, taken *au pied de la lettre*, might afford loop-hole of excuse or palliation for the author should his assertions be challenged. Let pass the delicacy—or the lack of it—that brackets together in the same paragraph scoundrel kings and queens, among them Charles II, "the most thorough debauchee that

(4) The only Catholic member of the Court of Appeals, Hon. Denis O'Brien, does not seem to have heard the argument in the Pierson case; certainly he took no part in this marvellous opinion. But why should his associates have omitted to consult *him* before perpetrating this travesty on his Church, its discipline and practice? And were not plenty of Catholic clerics and laymen within easy reach of the State Capitol who would have been willing, as they are abundantly able, to supply to the Court the much-needed information? And was there at hand no Protestant "*amicus curiae*" who could have told the Court *something*, at least, of the institutions of the Middle Ages?

ever sat on the English throne," with the "great men who became benefactors of humanity," and "have been canonized by the church;"—that places in neighborly juxtaposition the phrase, "*We are told that Henry VIII possessed the power to cure epilepsy,*" with the phrase, "*There commenced a growth of legends of miracles,*" concerning the cure of the sick;—that presents as companion pictures, the Catholic "saints who had miraculous power" to cure the sick, and "the most thorough debauchee" aforesaid, Charles II, "touching" to cure the "King's evil." There can be no mistake as to what the Court thinks about Henry VIII and Charles II and their alleged power to cure epilepsy, etc., and there can be no mistake as to what the Court expected its readers to conclude (*noscitur a sociis*) on the subject of Catholic saints and the miracles attributed to them. Be that, however, as it may, we are little inclined to linger, just now, on questions of style or good taste, but hasten to more serious matters.

We first call attention to the Court's statement concerning Pope Innocent III and the Fourth Lateran Council. (5) We do so, not because such statement is the most

(5) The Church of St. Saviour, in which the Council was held, was originally built by the Emperor Constantine, on ground which he had inherited from his wife, Fausta; hence it was often called the Basilica Constantiniana, or Basilica Faustina. The building materials were, to a large extent, taken from an old palace standing near the site, that had been the residence of a rich Roman Senator, Plautius Lateranus, in the time of Nero. An addition to the church was afterwards built, the chapel of St. John Baptist; and this became a place of such fame and devotion, that church, chapel, and the adjacent residence of the Pope became gradually and generally known as "St. John Lateran." (Butler, *Lives of Saints*, Baltimore, 1866, Vol. IV, p 305.)

flagrant of those contained in our excerpt from the opinion, but because it contains, in the compass of a few lines, more misstatements, express and implied, than we remember ever to have seen in so small a space before. After telling us—quite erroneously—that “for a thousand years or more it was considered dishonorable to practise physic or surgery,” the Court immediately proceeds to assert as having been made by that Council—as having been commanded by Pope Innocent—and as having been enforced by St. Pius V—a rule of conduct, absolute, universal, without condition or limitation or exception or qualification of any kind soever, namely, that “physicians were forbidden, under pain of expulsion from the Church, to undertake medical treatment without calling in a priest.”

We do not, and we will not—consciously, at least—either here or elsewhere, place any force or strained construction on the Court’s words, but take them in their plain, ordinary sense and meaning, and, as far as we can, in the sense and meaning which the Court intended; or, if *that* be too unreasonable, then in such sense as shall least disparage the extent—or the exposition which the Court itself makes of the extent—of the Court’s knowledge. And in this connection, let us ask, “What is the significance that the Court attaches to the phrase, ‘*calling in a priest*’?” From preceding and subsequent words, and from the general context and spirit of the whole excerpt, we should be constrained to infer that the priest was to be called in for the purpose of “curing by miracles or by intervention of Divine power”—especially (as the Court gravely assures us), as *that* was “*the* mode of treating sickness recognized by the Church.” Is not this the inference—in fact, the *only* inference—that the non-

Catholic world is certain to draw from the Court's language? Is it possible that the Court *intended* such inference? If so, its intention—if not, its use of words—is not very commendable.

We are loath to put upon the language we are criticizing a construction so unflattering to its distinguished authors. Let us, therefore, for the benefit of our non-Catholic readers (Catholics will forgive the repetition of what is perfectly familiar to them), put upon the words "calling in a priest," the sense in which all Catholics use them, the sense in which they were used by Innocent III and the Lateran Council, the sense in which our learned Court *should* have used them, had it taken the small amount of pains necessary to find out what that sense really was. Throughout the world, a Catholic priest is called to visit the sick or dying for the purpose of administering what is known as "the last sacraments;" and these are Penance, Holy Eucharist and Extreme Unction. They need not necessarily be all administered on the same occasion nor on the same day, unless the invalid is in danger of death. The first administered is the Sacrament of Penance; and this consists, in part, in the penitent's making a contrite confession of his sins, partly in his making reparation for any wrong he may have done, in making restitution of any money or property he unjustly withholds, in forgiveness of enemies, etc., etc. It is, therefore, for *spiritual* purposes—not to work physical miracles—that a priest is called to the bedside of the sick. If the priest were expected miraculously to cure the sick man, according to "the mode of treating sickness," which the Court asserts was *the mode* "recognized by the Church," evidently the physician's presence would be wholly superfluous. But,

even in the proper, Catholic usage of the words, "calling in a priest," did Pope or Council ever make the inexorable and universal precept which the Court attributes to them?

Perhaps the invalid, though in need of a doctor's services, is suffering only from a slight and transient ailment that is sure to yield at once to some simple treatment; perhaps the sick man's pains are keen and the doctor can relieve them, instantly; perhaps the priest is far away, and messenger, or priest, or both, may be delayed; perhaps the patient is a sinless child and is not the proper subject of the Sacrament of Penance at all; perhaps the patient is in the senile extremity of age, or is in a state of coma, or is delirious or insane, or for some reason or other is incapable of making his confession; perhaps the patient has availed himself of the Sacraments shortly before the doctor's arrival: no matter! Sir Doctor, "under pain of expulsion from the church"—remember that! you are "forbidden to *undertake medical treatment* without calling in a priest:"—at least so says the Court of Appeals.

So *has not* said Pope Innocent III or the Lateran Council; and that *no* Pope or Council ever, even so much as, *thought* of saying so, is a probability so strong, as practically to amount to a moral certainty.

The Council referred to by the Court—the Fourth Lateran, or Twelfth General Council—was held in the year 1215. Observe, please, that it was not a diocesan, provincial, national, nor even a primatial, more or less transient, or affecting only a *part* of the Catholic world; but was a general, universal or Œcumenical Council of the whole Catholic Church. It was held at a time—according to Gibbon—when the Popes had "attained the

full meridian of their greatness." (Decline and Fall, etc., Boston, 1858; Vol. VI., p. 36.) It was—says Milman—"one of the most numerous ever held in Christendom." (Latin Christianity, London, 1857; Vol. IV., p. 140.) Represented and illustrated there by their own worthiest exemplars, were religion and patriotism, sanctity and learning, and all that was splendid in chivalry when chivalry was at its brightest, all that was noble in feudalism when at its best. The venerable Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria and Constantinople, and their suffragans, attended in person or sent their deputies. From Italy, Spain, France, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Denmark, Sweden, England, Ireland, Sicily, Cyprus, etc., etc., came 71 Archbishops, 412 Bishops, over 800 Abbots and Priors; Grand-crosses and other high officers of the great military Orders, eager for the Fifth Crusade which the Pope was about to proclaim; Superiors General of the other great religious Orders and Confraternities; Ambassadors of Kings and Emperors; dignitaries of Church and State from every Christian land. St. Dominic and St. Francis of Assisium were there, founders of the two illustrious Orders in the Church that still bear their names; and there, too—we should not omit to mention—was the intrepid Archbishop of Canterbury, Stephen Langton, who, six months before, at the head of the Bishops and Nobles of England, had wrested from King John at Runnymede the "Great Charter" of English liberty. (6)

(6) The various items of fact in this and succeeding paragraphs have been gathered from Darras, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, Vol. III, p. 322; Rohrbacher, *Hist. Universelle*, etc., Vol. VII, p. 388; Hurter, *Hist. du Pape Innocent III*, Jager and Vail's *Paris ed.*, 1840, 2 vols. *passim*; Butler, *Lives*, etc., Vol. III, p. 206 and Vol.

Over the deliberations of this august assembly presided, in person, the great Pope, Innocent III. He was in the 56th year of his life, in the 18th of his Pontificate, and at the very maturity of his unrivalled powers. In a few months, he was to die; but his name and fame were to survive, and to endure in the respectful homage of mankind wherever virtue should be loved or genius admired.

No court that has any regard for its opinions can afford to speak of Innocent III in other terms than those of unqualified reverence and gratitude. The Encyclopedia Britannica, an arch-enemy of all things Catholic, says of him that he was "by far the most remarkable of the Popes who have reigned under this name [Innocent], and, if Gregory VII is excepted, perhaps the greatest of all who have occupied the See of St. Peter." (Art. Inn. III.) The

IV, p. 40; Moroni, Dizionario, and the Encyclopedias and Biographical Dictionaries generally; the great collection of Hardouin, Acta Conciliorum, Tom. VII, column 38; of Labbe and Cossart, Sacrosancta Concilia, Tom. XI, col. 238; of Catalano, Concilia Œcumenica, Tom. III, col. 294; of Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum, Vol. XXII, col. 954; Coqueline, Bullarum Collectio, Tom. IV, Part II, p. 282 and Tom. IV, Part IV, pp. 1 and 2; the historical notes of these compilers relating to the Pope and Council; Baronius, Annales, etc., Vol. XX, pp. 1-403; Fleury, Hist. Eccles., Paris, 1778, Tom. XVI, p. 180; Migne, Patrologiæ Cursus, etc., four volumes of which (214th to 217th) are devoted to Pope Innocent, his treatises on "Contempt of the world," on the Holy Eucharist, and others; a number of his sermons, orations to the Council, etc., and about four thousand of his letters.¹ Potthast, Regesta Pontif. Roman., Berlin, 1874, Vol. I, pp. 1-460, briefly indicates the subject matter of and actually numbers 5,316 of the Pope's letters; and these are not *all* he wrote by any means. Migne does the same, but his *numbering* is not consecutive for the *whole* collection of letters, but only for each *book* or *group*, as he divides them.

Protestant Milman says of him that "if ever the great idea of a European Republic with a Pope at its head was to be realized, none could bring more lofty or more various qualifications for its fulfilment than Innocent III;"—and again—that his "high and blameless, in some respects wise and gentle character might seem to approach more nearly than any one of the whole succession of Roman bishops to the ideal height of a Supreme Pontiff" and still again,—that "in him, if ever, might appear to be realized the churchman's highest conception of the Vicar of Christ." (Latin Christianity, Vol. IV., p. 186). The Protestant Hurter says of him, that in small things or great, "nothing could make him swerve from the path of justice." (p. 728.) The Protestant Larousse quotes with approval, the words of Hurter in praise of "the extent of his [Innocent's] learning, the purity of his morals and the eminent services which he rendered to the church." (Dict. Univ. du XIX. Siècle, Art. Inn. III.) The infidel Gibbon asserts that the Council's canon on Transubstantiation was Pope Innocent's personal triumph over the dictates of common sense. The impudent sneer serves rather to mark the historian's own lapse not only from common sense, but from common decency. Even if it were *true*, it would convey at least *one* praise,—the Pope, who, from the Fathers of such a Council as the Fourth Lateran, could obtain a decree in contravention of their own and the common sense of mankind, must assuredly, have been one of the most transcendently able men that history records. The trouble with Gibbon was, that although, in some respects, a great and gifted man, he was not one-tenth as great as he fondly imagined himself to be. The glib complacency with which he here arrogates to himself a superiority of common sense over

the Pope, the Council and the whole Catholic world is characteristic—and amusing. (7) The Fathers of the

(7) The reader shall judge for himself: "Under that young and ambitious priest" (Gibbon is speaking of Innocent III) "the successors of St. Peter attained the full meridian of their greatness; and, in a reign of eighteen years, he exercised a despotic command over the emperors and kings whom he elevated and deposed; over the nations whom an interdict of months or years deprived, for the offence of their rulers, of the exercise of Christian worship. In the Council of the Lateran he acted as the ecclesiastical, almost as the temporal sovereign of the East and West. It was at the feet of his legate that John, of England, surrendered his crown; and Innocent may boast of the two most signal triumphs over sense and humanity, the establishment of transubstantiation and the origin of the inquisition. At his voice, two crusades, the fourth and fifth, were undertaken," etc. (*Decline and Fall*, Vol. VI, p. 36.)

The dear, good, pious Gibbon was, of course, much distressed over the interdict of public worship. But what would he have—WAR? And what other alternative was left to the Pope, in dealing with King John—an utterly incomparable ruffian? The interdict was stern discipline, no doubt; but discipline of that kind is sometimes necessary; the stern discipline of the prison-cell and the electric chair, of police clubs and militia bayonets, is found salutary even in this twentieth century. But even the interdict did not wholly avert civil war in England, nor bring King John to his senses. It probably induced the King—most abjectly—and treacherously as was his wont—to become the feudal vassal and liegeman of the Pope; but that the Pope personally or officially cared one iota for John's "liegeance," except only as it might be the means of keeping him within the bounds of order and decency, is highly improbable. Every other influence had been tried with the king—and failed. But the spirit of feudalism had some power in the thirteenth century; and there might be some faint expectation that John as vassal, would exhibit towards *his* feudal lord some degree of that fealty and submission which, as suzerain, *he* demanded of his English barons. The hope was vain: there was no element of consistency in John's character. Even Hume, by no means partial to the Pope, sums up that character in these

Council were quite as competent, to say the least, to judge of the common sense of Transubstantiation or any other subject, as Gibbon himself could have possibly claimed to be. In intellectual power and attainments, to say nothing of intellectual honesty, of which Gibbon was often unblushingly regardless, (8) Pope Innocent was immeasur-

words: "The character of the prince is nothing but a complication of vices equally mean and odious; ruinous to himself and destructive to his people. Cowardice, inactivity, folly, levity, licentiousness, ingratitude, treachery, tyranny and cruelty. . . . It is hard to say whether his conduct to his father, his brother, his nephew [the ill-fated Prince Arthur, whom he caused to be murdered] or his subjects was most culpable; or whether his crimes, in these respects, were not even exceeded by the baseness which appeared in his transactions with the King of France, the Pope and the barons." (Hume, *Hist. England*, Phila., 1876, Vol. I, p. 438.)

(8) Did not Gibbon *know* that in defining the faith on Transubstantiation, the Council stated nothing *new*—nothing that had not *always* been Catholic belief on the subject? Did he not *know* that the same identical doctrine had been set forth hundreds of times by the early Fathers, east and west, by councils, by ecclesiastical writers, from the foundations of Christianity? Did he not *know* that Pope Gregory VII, more than a century and a half before the Lateran Council, had, as legate of the then reigning Pontiff (it was, of course, before Gregory's accession to the Papal throne), presided in the Council of Tours, A. D., 1055, wherein the heresy of Berengarius concerning the Real Presence was condemned, and the proper teaching of the Church asserted, in language that perfectly accords with the doctrine of the Fourth Lateran? As to the early fathers, see Butler, Vol. I, pp. 116, 143, 155-6, 335, 377; Vol. II, pp. 333, 390; Vol. III, pp. 45, 477; Vol. IV, pp. 474, 487. As to the councils that declared the Catholic doctrine concerning the Real Presence, see Migne, *Dictionnaire des Conseils*; titles, Rome, Paris, Tours, Florence, Vercelli, Bordeaux, Rouen, Poitiers, etc.; see also Peltier's *Dic. des Conseils* (Not to extend this note too far, we refer only to the councils of the century and a half before the Lateran.) In Rome there

ably his superior. Before, as after, the Council, countless thousands of men, of intellect quite as keen as Gibbon's, believed the Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation—believed it with every feeling of their hearts and every faculty of their souls. We have mentioned the learned Lanfranc, and referred to sixteen others. It will amply suit our purpose to mention just one more—St. Thomas Aquinas,—who was, peculiarly, the Saint of the Blessed Sacrament and Transubstantiation. In every quality that defines the highest order of mentality, St. Thomas was perhaps the most superbly gifted of all the sons of men. In comparison with *him*, Gibbon was a mere mannikin. Gibbon's affectation of superior sense is ridiculous.

Lothair Conti, afterward Pope Innocent III., was the scion of one of the most illustrious families of Italy. He had received all the advantages that rank and wealth could secure. He had spent his studious youth and early manhood, first, in the schools of Rome; afterward, in the universities of Paris and Bologna. On being ordained a deacon, he had been advanced from dignity to dignity in the official administration of the church, until—tested and tried by high responsibilities—he had, at the early age of thirty-seven, been unanimously elected to the Papal chair. The duties of that exalted station he had fulfilled with

were several councils (at two of which Berengarius appeared and recanted his errors) in 1050, 1059, 1078 and 1079. An interesting note in Butler, Vol. II, p. 78, gives the names of *sixteen* illustrious writers, among them the scholarly Lanfranc, whose "excellent writings" indicated the true teaching of the Church against Berengarius. In fact, his heresy called forth a storm of protest throughout the Catholic world; didn't Gibbon know anything about it? See Darras, Rohrbacher, etc., *ad annum* 1050, etc. Lanfranc's treatise—*De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*—is given in full in Migne, Vol. 150, Col. 407.

signal ability; and of those duties none were more exacting, and none were better discharged than those of a judicial character. The Court of Appeals of New York yearly decides many legal questions, difficult, perplexing, affecting vast interests, and with consequences well-nigh beyond compute. But it is perfectly safe to say, that the questions so disposed of would bear only a moderate ratio in number, intricacy and importance, to the problems yearly submitted to Pope Innocent's judicial scrutiny. The spiritual "magisterium" and jurisdiction inherent in his high office brought before him, either by original cognizance or on appeal, a host of doctrinal, moral, disciplinary and administrative questions from all quarters of the known world. There were, besides, his judicial functions as a temporal sovereign; for, monarchical traditions in the Middle Ages frequently imposed on the temporal ruler judicial as well as legislative and executive powers. Then, again, the public law (9) of Europe, and what now, as between independent powers and princes, would be called international law—the customs which create rights and, of course, correlative duties—the consents and usages, the precedents and prescriptions of centuries—these constituted the Pope the Supreme Arbiter of all sorts of disputes that could arise in civil society, and made his Court the Supreme Tribunal of all Christendom. To these judicial functions Pope Innocent devoted himself with all the zeal of his untiring genius; and, in a short time, his natural aptitude, wide experience and sure logical mind

(9) "Aujourd'hui les grandes affaires internationales sont portées devant des congrès qui les décident d'une manière souveraine. Mais la pratique de ces congrès est toute récente. Au moyen âge, il n'y avait que le glaive ou le Pape pour terminer une controverse entre deux princes souverains, entre deux rois." (Nouvelle Biog. Générale, Paris, 1871. Art., Innocent III.)

made him one of the greatest equity judges that the world has ever seen. (10)

Simple and frugal, not to say ascetic, habits of life, unaffected and winning manners, a straightforward honesty of purpose, an intellect crystal-clear in all its processes, a singularly high-minded and noble nature, a sensitive, generous and tender heart—these are the traits that his biographers and historians—even those not of his faith—generally ascribe to him. A great scholar, a great statesman, well-versed in theology, law and medicine, (11) the friend of the friendless, the father of the poor, the champion of the oppressed—these are the terms that even his enemies, in varying degrees of grudging acknowledgment or generous appreciation, apply to him.

(10) "Les plus habiles jurisconsultes venaient s'instruire à ses audiences. Il introduisait dans la jurisprudence ecclésiastique des règles, des formes que les tribunaux civils imiterent depuis en beaucoup de points." (Biog. Univ., Paris, 1858. Art., Innocent III.)

(11) Like many other Popes, before and since his time, Pope Innocent was not only well versed in the theory of medicine, but regularly visited the hospitals of Rome, often engaging personally in the humblest ministrations of the sick-ward and infirmary. He rebuilt and enlarged the hospital of Santo Spirito, caused it to be suitably endowed, and established a religious order for the sole purpose of managing it. For centuries it bore the reputation of being the largest and best conducted hospital in the world, not even excepting the celebrated Hotel Dieu at Lyons (founded in 550) or the Hotel Dieu of Paris (founded a century later.) A recent medical writer pays the following tribute to the mediæval hospitals: "The internal arrangements and thoroughly practical nature of the ordinances to which the medical hospitals owed their existence excite surprise and demand unreserved admiration." (Fort, Medical Economy during the Middle Ages, New York, 1883, p. 322.)

His writings are distinguished by a lucid and classic diction exquisitely suitable to the subject and the occasion (12). His eloquence was in that strain of lofty inspira-

(12) The Encyc. Britan. says of the Pope's treatise, "*De Contemptu Mundi*," that it is written "*in not inelegant Latin*," a somewhat frigid compliment for one of the best scholars of his day, to whom the Latin language was, during practically his whole life, and every day of his life, as familiar as his own mother tongue. It does better, however, in regard to the Pope's "Sermons," of which it says: "Some indication of Innocent's power as a preacher, which is known to have been great, can still be found in his extant *sermons*; while fully partaking of the *curious artificiality of the period*, they abound in *passages of fervid eloquence* and are everywhere characterized by *deep religious and moral feeling*." It would, no doubt, have done better still had it favored us with its (honest) estimate of the Pope's "Letters," say, for example, his letters to Philip Augustus and to King John.

La Grande Encyclopédie says of the Pope's writings: "*La plupart [but why only la plupart?] de ses ouvrages sont écrits en un latin qui n'est pas sans élégance; ses traités et surtout ses sermons présentent parmi des allégories forcées et avec les procédés artificiels propres à la manière de son temps, l'expression d'une pensée profonde et d'un intense sentiment religieux et moral; des passages d'une éloquence tantôt haute, tantôt touchante.*"

Curious, how great minds run in the same channels, isn't it? The curious little—what shall we call them?—*coincidences*, in the foregoing passages, which we have italicized, may remind the reader of Hallam's criticism on certain mediæval writers to whom he attributed "a tameness and mediocrity, a servile habit of compiling from others." The servile habit seems to have survived the Middle Ages.

A good deal of arrant twaddle on the subject of mediæval latinity and its alleged deficiencies has been bandied about by a certain school of critics, who can find few or no excellences in Catholic times, and who, in regard to the excellences they cannot deny, become dumb as oysters or show themselves "skilled in that meanest of all arts, the art to damn with faint praise." From

tion that blends the most cogent reasoning with the most impassioned persuasiveness. If true eloquence consists not only in the "words that burn and thoughts that breathe" from the speaker's living lips, but in that subtle, undefinable, resistless something that, even from the lifeless page where his words are recorded, can, through all the passing centuries, unfailingly exert the power of uplifting, thrilling and swaying the minds of men,—if this be a test of true oratory, then was Pope Innocent one of the world's greatest orators. A warm admirer of Milton has described "Paradise Lost" as "a song so sublime and so holy that it would not have misbecome the lips" even of angelic choirs. That beautiful language of Macaulay might, with special felicity, be used to describe several of the poems of Pope Innocent; some so grand in their simple beauty, as to have won for themselves a place in the liturgy of the Church: some with that touch of nature and of tenderness, that all humanity takes them to its heart and will "never willingly let die." Simplicity, sublimity, grace, fervor, the nameless quality that stirs to their secret depths all the founts of feeling and fills the soul with thoughts that are akin to prayer,—if these be marks of true poetry, then was Pope Innocent one of the world's greatest poets. But a more specific title crowns his literary fame with immortality, and endears him to all Cath-

Saints Ambrose and Augustine down to Leo XIII and Pius X, there never was an age in the history of the Church that did not produce at least *some* writers of classical latinity, in verse and prose, whose loftiness of thought, purity of diction and elegance of idiom would have charmed Virgil and delighted Cicero. (Hallam, *Hist. of Literature*, etc., Vol. I, pp. 58, 173, 224; Vol. II, pp. 19, 184; Bellarmine, *De Scriptoribus Eccles.*; and see the *Tables*, of illustrious Catholic writers, at the end of Butler's fourth volume.)

olic hearts forever,—he was the author of the *Stabat Mater dolorosa* (13).

(13) Pascal, *Liturgie Catholique*, Paris, 1844, col. 409, quoting Pope Benedict XIV: Ancona, *Studi sulla Letteratura Ital.*, Ancona, 1844, p. 93, note, quoting Pope Benedict XIV and Montalembert. See also Ceillier, *Auteurs Sacrés*, etc., Vol. 13, p. 109, note 8: Jameson, *Hist. of our Lord*, Vol. II, p. 179; *Histoire de l'Eglise*, Toulouse, 1809, Vol. VI, p. 584.

The learned Franciscan Wadding is said to have claimed for Jacopone da Todi, a brother of his illustrious order in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the authorship of the *Stabat Mater*, and he has been followed by Ozanam, in his beautiful essay, *Les Poètes Franciscains*, and by Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, Leipzig, 1855, p. 140. *La Grande Encyclopédie* says, bluntly, that there is little foundation for such claim; and Daniel himself furnishes one great fact that seems effectually to dispose of it. He says, that at the middle, or even towards the beginning of the thirteenth century, "*Jam saeculo decimo tertio medio vel ineunte*," the *Stabat Mater* had already found a place in the liturgical books, "*in libris liturgicis locum habebat*" (p. 140). Now, *all* the authorities are agreed that, at the middle of that century, Jacopone was only twenty years of age—to be precise, he was born in 1230. Could he have been the author of a poem, which, even then, and for an indefinite number of years before, had its place in the liturgical books of the time?

Pascal's reference to Pope Benedict is as follows: "Innocent III en [of the *Stabat Mater*] est reconnu le seul auteur par un de ses plus grands et de ses plus judicieux successeurs sur la chaire apostolique. Benoit XIV n'admet aucun doute à cet égard;" and Benedict was one of the most learned men of his time, specially devoted to historical studies and researches. The *Nouvelle Biog. Univ.* says of him: "Il n'y eut point de bibliothèque dont il ne fit l'analyse, point de bon livre dont il ne prit la substance." Art., Benoit XIV. The *Encyc. des Gens du Monde* says that the Pope "*lisait les poètes Grecques et Latins, et on l'a cru l'auteur du *Veni Sancte Spiritus* et du *Stabat**" Art. Inn. III.

Pope Innocent III was also the author of the "*Veni Sancte Spiritus*." (*Biographie Univ.*, Art., Inn. III.; Migne, Vol. 141, col. 901; Moroni, *Dizionario*, Vol. 93, p. 165.) As to the "*Veni*

The seventy decrees or canons of the Council are before us as we write these lines, in Hardouin's *Acta Conciliorum*, Paris, 1714, Tom. VII. The original Latin text is, in this, as in several others of the great collections we have already mentioned, accompanied in parallel column by the Greek version which the Pope caused to be made for the benefit of the Eastern churches and peoples. The canon referred to by our learned Court could be no other than the 22d, which is found in column 38 of the volume cited, and which reads as follows:

XXII. Cum infirmitas corporalis nonnunquam ex peccato proveniat,—dicente Domino languido quem sanaverat, Vade et amplius noli peccare ne deterius aliquid tibi contingat,—decreto præsentì statuimus et districte præcipimus medicis corporum, ut cum eos ad infirmos vocari contigerit, ipsos ante omnia moneant et inducant quod medicos advocent animarum (14); ut postquam

Creator," there seems to be some doubt. A hymn by that title was certainly in existence before the time of Innocent III; whether the *Veni Creator* we now have is the older hymn retouched and remodelled by the hand of the Pope, or whether it was an original production of his own, is a question. It is certain that a hymn, with those initial words, has been generally attributed to him.

We have quoted Father Wadding on the authority of Addis and Arnold's *Cath. Dictionary*, p. 463: but, although we have faithfully searched the 19 goodly volumes of Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, and have found several passages relating to Jacopone da Todi, we have met no mention of the *Stabat Mater* or its authorship.

(14) If parity of title and designation means anything, the priest (*medicus animæ*) and the doctor (*medicus corporis*) are placed by the Council on the same plane of respect and consideration.

infirmis fuerit de spirituali salute provisum, ad corporalis medicinæ remedium salubrius procedatur (15); cum causa cessante cesset effectus.

Hoc quidem inter alia huic causam dedit edicto, quod quidam in ægitudinis lecto jacentes, cum eis a medicis suadetur ut de animarum salute disponant, in desperationis vinculum (16) incidunt, unde facilius mortis periculum incurrunt.

Si quis autem medicorum hujus nostræ constitutionis, postquam per prælatos locorum fuerit publicata, transgressor exstiterit, tamdiu ab ingressu ecclesiæ arceatur donec pro transgressione hujusmodi satisfecerit competenter.

Ceterum cum anima sit multo pretiosior corpore, sub interminatione anathematis prohibemus ne quis medicorum, pro corporali salute, aliquid ægroto suadeat quod in periculum animæ convertatur (17).

(15) *Procedatur* is one of those impersonal, passive forms in which the Latin language abounds, but to which the English idiom is sometimes inhospitable. A literal rendition of the phrase, "it may be proceeded more healthfully to the remedy of corporal medicine," may (possibly) be intelligible; it certainly is not English. In such case, the translator must take his own way to convey the exact and complete *sense* of the original.

(16) Mansi, Catalano, Labbe, etc., give the reading, "in *articulum* desperationis;" of course, without varying the substantial meaning of the sentence. They lose, however, the striking figure of speech expressed by "*vinculum*."

(17) Canon 22d may be found in full in the several collections and at the pages mentioned in our foregoing note 6. It is paraphrased, or its substance is given, or it is approvingly referred to in many of the other authorities quoted in that note. Butler, Vol. IV, p. 40, condenses and translates a part of it, viz.: "By the 22d [canon] physicians were commanded, under pain of being

"As bodily infirmity sometimes arises from sin,—our Lord saying to the sick man whom he had healed—Go and sin no more lest a worse thing befall thee,—by these presents we enact and strictly decree that when physicians are summoned to attend the sick, they should above all things admonish and exhort their patients (ipsos) to call in their confessors; so that, provision being made for the sick man's spiritual well-being, the remedies of bodily treatment may be more successfully applied; for, the cause ceasing, its effect may also cease.

"A consideration, among others, to prompt this precept is, that some people, when confined to the sick-bed and then warned by the doctor to attend to their soul's salvation, fall into the bonds of despair, and so more readily incur the danger of death.

"If any physician transgress this our constitution, after

forbid the entrance of the church, to put all persons dangerously sick in mind, before they prescribed them physic, to call their confessors." Rohrbacher, *Hist. Univ.*, Vol. VII, p. 388, translates it as follows: "Comme l'infirmité corporelle provient souvent du péché, le Seigneur disant au malade qu'il avait guéri, Va, et ne pèche plus de peur qu'il ne t'arrive pis; nous ordonnons aux médecins des corps, quand ils sont appelés auprès des malades, de les avertir et de les persuader avant tout d'appeler les médecins des âmes, à fin que, quand on aura pourvu à leur salut spirituel, le remède de la médecine corporelle profit mieux; l'effet cessant avec la cause. Ce pui, entre autres a motivé ce decret, c'est que quelqu'uns de très-malades, avertis par les médecins de pourvoir au salut de leur âme, tombent dans le désespoir et encourent plus facilement le danger de mourir. Si donc un médecin transgresse notre present constitution après qu'elle aura été publiée par les prelat, il sera privé de l'entrée de l'église, jusqu'à ce qu'il ait satisfait pour sa transgression. Du reste, comme l'âme est beaucoup plus precieuse que le corps, nous defendons aux médecins sous peine d'anathème de conseiller à un malade, pour le salut de son corps, quelque chose de perilleux pour l'âme."

its publication by the local prelates, he may be denied entrance to the church until such time as he shall for such fault have made suitable reparation.

"Moreover, as the soul is much more precious than the body, we forbid physicians, under threat of anathema, from advising a patient, for the health of his body, anything that might result in peril to his soul."

There is this dreadful Canon 22d, and the whole of it. As the reader at once sees, it is general in its terms, unencumbered with conditions or provisos, and is as simple and direct as language could well make it. Like *all* laws, it is to be understood and construed by the universal rule of interpretation which the Court of Appeals has applied and illustrated over and over again, and that is, that a law is to be understood in the identical sense which the law-maker intended, in which the people for whose benefit it was passed understood it, and in which the law-maker *knew* the people directly interested *would* understand and receive it. Now, the Catholic people of the thirteenth century knew perfectly well that confession was wholly unnecessary or impossible in the cases hereinbefore enumerated. The doctors of those days knew it. The Pope and the Fathers of the Council knew it; and they knew that doctors and people knew it. Neither Pope nor Council, then, could have intended that Canon 22d should apply to the excepted classes of cases, or to any other than cases of serious sickness where the malady was likely to, or at least might, prove dangerous, or perhaps fatal. There was not the slightest need expressly to mention the excepted cases, because, in the understanding of all Christendom, they were, in the nature of things, excepted, without any express mention at all. They could not have been deemed to be within the scope and purview of the canon without reversing the whole teaching and

practice of the Church from the beginning. In the sense, then, herein explained, with the necessarily implied and universally understood conditions, Canon 22d was enacted by the Council and promulgated by the Pope; was quoted, ratified and approved by other councils and other Popes repeatedly; (18) was universally accepted and acted upon by doctors and people; for year after year, decade after decade and century after century, without a single protest, or remonstrance, or word of objection against it, from any quarter whatever. The simple truth is, that there never was, and is not now, the slightest *reasonable* ground of objection concerning it (19).

With all due deference to the learned Court, we must observe:

1. That the canon did *not* put upon the doctor the task of calling in a priest, much less of securing the priest's attendance. Doctors were simply to admonish and advise the *patient* thereto, and it was solely the patient's prerogative to call in the clergyman or not, as the patient himself thought proper.

2. The calling in of a priest was *not* a condition of the

(18) Among others, by the Councils of Ravenna, 1311; Tortosa, 1429; Paris, 1429; Narbonne, 1551; Tolosa, 1590; and Rome, "as late as" 1725; and by Clement V, Julius III, Gregory XIII, Innocent XI, Benedict XIII, and no doubt others. See dictionaries of Migne, Peltier, Moroni, etc., under the titles *Ravenna*, *Clement*, etc., etc. St. Ignatius approved Canon 22d; See Bollandists, Vol. VII, Julii, p. 481; also St. Charles Borromeo; See Hardouin, Tom. X, p. 653.

(19) Milman and Gibbon say nothing about Canon 22d. Hurter discusses the canons at some length, from pages 729 to 753, but makes no comment on the 22d. The Encyclopedias are all equally silent.

doctor's *undertaking the medical treatment* of his patient, nor of doing all he could for the patient before the priest's arrival.

3. The canon does *not* denounce the pain of "expulsion from the Church," as a punishment for the doctor's remissness; the doctor *may be* forbidden *entrance into* the church, that is to say, the church *edifice*, and from assisting at the divine mysteries: (20) *expulsion from* the Church, *i. e.*, excommunication, is a totally different and much more serious matter.

4. The canon was *not*, and was not intended to be, in any wise derogatory to the professional dignity, authority or responsibility of the doctor. This is shown in *two* places in the context. The admonition to send for a priest was not to be delayed too long, or until the patient became prostrated by his increasing illness, because *then* it might come as a surprise, as a shock, as a sentence of his impending doom. But, warning being given almost as a matter of custom and routine in *all* serious (and proper) cases, it was less calculated to alarm the patient in any particular case; and being given at an early stage of the malady, the patient's ease and peace of soul would be provided by the ministrations of his confessor, thus leaving the doctor's treatment to be more beneficially applied or continued. Every doctor knows that he can have no better ally than his patient's clear, unburdened conscience;

(20) It is no small tribute to the church-going habit and genuine piety of the doctors of the thirteenth century, that not-going-to-church should be regarded as a punishment and penalty. The doctors of the twentieth century may be no less pious; but it may be doubted whether *they* would regard such a penalty as excessive or even severe; and there can be no doubt that they would bear it with a reasonable degree of fortitude.

and that the sin-laden, remorseful and troubled soul is a great obstacle to speedy recovery. The canon, then, stands justified by the best possible *medical* reasons, and is in direct and powerful aid of the doctor's services.

5. The canon introduced no new rule, created no new obligation, imposed no new burden. It was simply declaratory of what *always was, ever since has been and is now*, the law and plain duty of physicians, Catholic, Protestant, Jew and Gentile, and all the world over, viz.,—to warn the seriously sick patient of his condition, so that he might have a chance to arrange his worldly affairs,—undo, while he could, the wrongs he might have caused,—and prepare, spiritually and temporally, for the last great change. What would be thought of the doctor who should refuse or neglect to give such warning and opportunity,—that he had performed his full duty?

6. The mere fact, even if there were never another fact to support it, of a General Council thus legislating for the whole Church, amply attests the general and established custom of calling in physicians to attend the sick, *ages before the eighteenth century*.

7. Approved by the most authoritative assemblage of the most cultured gentlemen in all the world, Canon 22d is a proud testimonial of the honorable status of the medical profession, not only at the time of the Council, but during all the generations by whom the Council's decrees have been held in respect.

8. The Opinion has missed its logical and apparently intended effect, if its suggestive innuendo and lurid rhetoric have not fired the average Protestant fancy with fearful visions; wherein figure courts of awful mien and relentless sternness, equipped with all the dread paraphernalia of criminal procedure, haling the confused and

trembling prisoner to the bar,—trying him on the spot,—finding him guilty (of course!),—pronouncing his doom and “enforcing the penalty” of “expulsion from the Church.” Will the kind-hearted, unprejudiced and sensible Protestant (we know many a one who may be so described) believe, that, whatever was the act commanded or the dereliction forbidden by Canon 22d, there was provided, in regard to it, *no* trial and *no* procedure? What! No court, no judge, no district attorney (or whatever may have been the title of a prosecuting officer in the middle ages), no accuser, no witness,—nor sheriff—nor jailer—nor executioner? Positively and absolutely—none! The only forum or tribunal the doctor himself was to be, his own accuser, his own prosecutor, his own witness against himself; he was to be his own judge to render judgment; and he himself was the only one who was to carry that judgment into effect. Human nature must have changed somewhat since the middle ages, if, under such circumstances, there can be much suspicion of undue severity. If, as between his conscience and his God, the doctor acquitted himself of offence, or neglect of duty, there was neither Council, nor Pope, nor anyone else to say a single word to the contrary. If, however, the culprit’s conscience adjudged him guilty, he disposed of his offence, as he did of all his other sins and transgressions,—through the Sacramental aids and agencies of his Church, contrition, confession, satisfaction, etc. These, when properly availed of, secured to him the forgiveness of his sin and the remission of the penalty; and these were at his service at any time he himself chose. Truly, the learned Court is making a big bugaboo out of very flimsy material.

Seven hundred years after the Council, amid entirely different religious, political and social conditions, amid a

people that is four-fifths non-Catholic, and to that extent profoundly indifferent to, or ignorant of, or perhaps prejudiced against Catholic beliefs, sacraments, institutions, tones and habits of thought, in a word, against anything and everything Catholic whether in the thirteenth century or in the twentieth—it remained for a great Court to suppress the essential conditions of time, place and circumstance under which the canon was enacted, and only upon the known and general prevalence of which conditions its enactment could have been possible. So treated, what law, church or institution may not be brought into public odium and contempt? But as if, in this case, to render such odium and contempt inevitable, the Court goes further, and misstates, in important particulars, the plain meaning of the very plain, simple and unmistakable terms which the Council employed. If the Court ever saw or read those terms—which we very frankly doubt—it is difficult to perceive how it could have so grossly misrepresented them.

What our learned Court says about Pius V need not long detain us. On the mere statement of the proposition, it is clear that the patient who deliberately refuses to follow the advice of his physician, forfeits the right to that physician's further attendance or attention; and that the physician who continues to waste his time and care on such a patient only belittles and dishonors his honorable profession. So thought Pius V, when, on approving Canon 22d, he required the doctor, under threatened dismissal from his profession, to discontinue the care of a patient who, for three days, persisted in refusing to send for his confessor. So thought the other Popes (mentioned in Note 18),—who, approving Canon 22d and the

Decretal of Pius V (21), added to the Hippocratic oath of the graduating doctor the obligation to notify the dangerously sick patient of his condition, and to refuse attending him longer than three days if he contumaciously declined to call in his confessor. The twentieth century will probably believe, that the physician who continues his futile visits to a stubborn patient is not, in common parlance, "worth his salt"; and that the physician who refuses to advise his patient of his danger, but allows him to be surprised by death, deserves to be flung, in disgrace, from a profession of gentlemen.

We have exhausted our allotted space, and, no doubt, our readers' patience; and still there remains a number of the court's statements, more extraordinary than any we have yet touched upon. A discussion of these we must postpone to a future occasion.

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(21) In Tome IV, Part II, p. 281, of Coqueline's Collections: also in Thomasetti, Bullarium Rom., Vol. 7, p. 430.

The Bula de la Cruzada

I

To many of our readers the name Bula de la Cruzada conveys no very definite idea, but to others it recalls a practice which they have had at times thrown in their teeth as one of the notable scandals of the Catholic Church. Hence the latter will welcome any light we may be able to throw upon the subject, whilst the former also after this indication will feel their interest excited.

We must begin by describing the practice as it is said to exist at present throughout the dominions of the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns, as well as in most of the countries in the New World which formerly belonged to those Crowns; nor shall we shrink from describing it in the crude terms which if not really justifiable can, as we know, appear to be such to an outside critic of our communion, even though he be not ill-intentioned. In England such a person would say, you are obliged by the law of your Church to abstain from flesh meat on certain days in the year, except that, in case of weak health or other cause deemed sufficient, you apply to the authorities of your Church for a dispensation. In England, again, when you desire to gain the release of a soul from Purgatory you try to gain an Indulgence, which involves saying certain prayers with devotion, and if the Indulgence you have in view is plenary, going also to Confession and Holy Communion. In Spain, where the same general law of abstinence binds, and the same desire to obtain Indulgences for the dead is felt, a much more simple, though unfortunately a much

less spiritual method of seeking relief is practised, for there you simply go to a shop where books of devotion, crucifixes, holy pictures, and similar articles of piety are on sale, and you ask for a pair of Papal Bulls—a Bula de Carnes which dispenses you from the obligation of abstinence, and a Bula de Difuntos which grants you a Plenary Indulgence applicable to any departed soul you may wish to name. Nor is the sum you pay for these Bulls more than a few pence. Nor do you require in the one case to be able to plead weak health or an equivalent excuse, or in the other to undertake to say any prayers or even to keep free from sin, but in both cases, after paying the money, receiving the copy of the Bull and inscribing a name in the blank space upon it, you have the satisfaction of being able to walk out of the shop with the consciousness that you have got what you sought, straight off, without further conditions.

It is not surprising that persons who take this to be a just representation of the Spanish usage should set down the whole system as unspeakably gross and mechanical, and should infer that the people who practise it must sadly misconceive the dispositions of heart which form the essence of all true religion. And yet when we meet Spanish Catholics—devout Spanish Catholics, that is to say, for the conduct of the indevout reflects only on themselves—we do not find them to differ in this respect from Catholics in England or elsewhere. Like others, they have their national characteristics, but they also share with others the same convictions as to the preparation of heart required in those who seek the divine pardon for their sins, and show the same capability to lead holy lives, conformed to the spiritual pattern set by our Lord Jesus Christ. Indeed, when one bears in mind that the system based on the Bula de la Cruzada

dates back now for many centuries, one feels it to be nothing less than an outrage to put on its defence against these gross charges a nation which has been able to produce saints so spiritual as St. Ignatius, St. Teresa, or St. John of the Cross, not to speak of the vast multitude of servants of God in each age and generation, by the side of whom saints like those named are but as the highest peaks of a mountain range. Nor again is it less than an outrage to suppose that a system periodically authorized by Popes like Pius IX. and Leo XIII., Popes whose high moral character and genuine piety have shone conspicuously before the world, can be a system of which the tendency is to degrade and despiritualize whole multitudes of the Church's attached children. Evidently, then, there must be some grave deflection from the truth in the account above-cited, accepted though it be by many in this country, of the intentions of the Bula de la Cruzada, and the conditions under which its privileges are held by Spaniards to be obtainable. And so we shall find it to be. The account has no doubt a certain element of truth in it, but only in the sense in which there is an element of truth in the allegation of the ultra-Protestant that Catholics kneel down to blocks of wood and stone; or of the Secularist, that Christian morality, in contrast with secularist morality, encourages men to live righteously not for righteousness' sake, but for the lower motive of personal reward; or of the Jewish priests that our Lord was one who had stirred up the people by attempting to substitute another kingdom for the kingdom of Cæsar. It is, in fact, the very art of misrepresentation thus to describe a system by isolating a few of its external features, and setting on them a purely arbitrary construction. If we really desire to estimate according to its true merits and significance some

religious usage of a country differing much in its ways from our own, we must take everything appertaining to such a usage into account, and must seek to penetrate into the inner spirit of those who employ it, distinguishing too most carefully the observance of the fervent from that of the lax. And this is what we propose to do in two articles—in this, the first of which we shall confine ourselves to tracing the history of the Cruzada from the time of its first origins, since it is only thus that we can hope to appreciate justly its place in the Catholic life of the modern Spaniards.

Its name implies that this usage was originally connected with the Crusades, and in fact the first traces of its appearance in history are found in connection with the first Crusade of all. "Confiding in the mercy of God," Urban II. is reported to have said in one of his addresses at the Council of Clermont, "and in the authority of the Blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, we grant to all those who take up arms against (the infidels), and set out on this pilgrimage, an immense relaxation of the penances due from them on account of their sins." This was in the last decade of the eleventh century; two centuries later, when the fifth Crusade was in preparation, we find Innocent III., in the Fourth Lateran Council, speaking, *sacro approbante Concilio*, in the same style, and extending the privilege of the Indulgence to those who, instead of going in person to the Holy Land sent others duly equipped as their substitutes, and even extending it to those who simply contributed in proportion to their means towards the general expenses of the expedition: "*Omnibus qui laborem propriis personis subierint et expensis, plenam suorum peccaminum de quibus fuerint veraciter corde contriti et ore confessi, veniam indulgemus, et in retributione justorum salutis*

æternæ pollicemur augmentum . . . hujus quoque remissionis volumus participes fieri juxta qualitatem subsidii et devotionis affectum omnes qui ad subventionem istius terræ de bonis suis congrue ministraverint aut auxilium et consilium impenderint opportunum."

It would overcharge this article to include in it an exposition of the nature of Indulgences and of the circumstances of their historical development. For that we must refer readers not already acquainted with the subject to such a book as Père L'Epicier's *Indulgences, their Origin and Development*. Still there are one or two points in these grants of Indulgences to the Crusaders which need to be noticed carefully because of the aid they afford us towards understanding the modern Spanish Cruzada. In the first place, it must be borne in mind that a Crusading expedition against the Mohammedans and for the relief of the Holy Land appealed to the Christians of those days as an undoubtedly religious act. What they sought for was not merely the recovery of the Holy Places which Christians had always loved to visit, though that of course counted with them for very much, but still more the rescue of Christian populations which had fallen under the yoke of the unbeliever and been driven into apostasy, and the checking of the further advance of an enemy who threatened to overrun the whole of Europe, and substitute everywhere by force of arms the religion of the Prophet for the religion of Christ. To withstand an aggressive movement so dangerous to the souls of men, was a work which can appear to our modern minds to have been a work of Christian zeal. And so certainly it appeared to the men of those days, and particularly to a Pope like Innocent III. Nor can we have better evidence of the deeply religious spirit in which he regarded it than in the beautiful words of

exhortation which in this same Council of the Lateran he addressed to those who might answer his call to arms. Let them, he said, have the fear and love of God before their eyes, and see that there be nothing in their behavior offensive to His Divine Majesty; if they should fall into sin let them be careful to rise from it at once by true penitence; let them bear themselves always in humility of heart and body; let them observe moderation in food and vesture; let them lay aside all contentions and jealousies, all rancor and envy; so that they may be able to fight the enemies of their faith with spiritual as well as material arms, not trusting in their own strength, but in the strength of God. We may feel that the spirit in which the Crusaders in fact conducted themselves was very different from that here recommended to them, and that their motives were much more worldly. And this may be true of the large proportion whose conduct imparted to the Crusaders the character with which they have passed into history. We may feel too that the Pope sadly miscalculated the inevitable consequences of such a miscellaneous call to arms. Still it is not by the conduct of those dissolute warriors, or by the miscalculations of their spiritual rulers, but by the good intentions of the latter, and the conformity with the same of those Crusaders, doubtless not so few in number though they have shared the fate of the quiet in being shrouded with obscurity—it is by the spirit which animated these men that we must judge of the propriety of regarding their undertaking, with all its undoubted hardships and privations, as a truly religious act worthy to be accepted as a substitute for the temporal punishment due for their sins, and to be rewarded by the grace of a Plenary Indulgence.

Another point which is conspicuous in the address of

Innocent III. at the Lateran Council is the disinterestedness of this Pontiff in regard to his call to the Crusade. He asked for men and he asked for alms; his intention was to be a loser, not a gainer in the matter of revenue, for he meant to surpass them all in the generosity of his contributions. He had already fitted out a ship and made a grant for its expenses of 3,000 silver marks, and had sent large sums to be distributed among the suffering Christians of the East; and he now proposed to contribute a sum of £30,000 to the general fund. Moreover, he had prescribed, with the approval of the Bishops assembled in council, that the prelates and clergy throughout Christendom should give a twentieth of their yearly income for the next three years, and had imposed on himself and his Cardinals a levy of double that proportion.

It was thus that the type was set for these Crusade Indulgences. Indeed it was also set for other kinds of Indulgences, for from that time forth we find the same expedient much more lavishly employed to arouse the generosity of the faithful, and direct it towards various works of charity or religion, such as the building of churches and cathedrals, the foundation of schools, hospitals, and other similar institutions. It is, however, to Crusade Indulgences that we must confine our attention, and it is to be noticed that, although what are commonly called the Crusades were but seven in number, and came to an end in 1291, the name in Pontifical usage was extended to many similar military undertakings, covering a period the termination of which belongs almost to our own age and directed (for the most part) to the preservation of Christendom from the Mohammedan peril. The history of our own country does not tend to set this peril forcibly before our eyes, but to the South European coun-

tries it was for all that long period very present indeed. Even as far back as the ninth century the Island of Sicily had fallen into the hands of the Saracens, under whose domination it remained for nearly two hundred years. But still more serious a danger to the whole of Europe was that caused by the Osmanli Turks, whose power in Europe was ever on the increase from the middle of the fourteenth century, when under Amurath I. they established their headquarters at Adrianople. This same monarch was able to subdue Macedonia, Albania, and Servia, and thus to hem in the Greek Emperor at Constantinople, the continuance of whose sovereignty was thenceforth always precarious. By the end of that century, in 1396, the terrible Sultan Bajazet vanquished and almost annihilated the Christian army at Nikopol, in the valley of the Lower Danube. It was then that he announced to King Sigismund of Hungary his intention to subdue not Hungary only but Germany and Italy, and to finish by feeding his horse from oats stored on the High Altar of St. Peter's.

He might well have been enabled to fulfil his threat, had not deliverance for Christendom come from an unexpected quarter. Bajazet was attacked and defeated by a rival conqueror still more powerful and barbarous, the famous Timour or Tamerlane, who carried him off into a captivity under which he languished and died within the space of a year. This check to the Turkish advance was, however, but temporary, and in 1444 Amurath II. inflicted another crushing defeat on the Christian arms at Varna on the Black Sea. After this the extinction of the Eastern Empire could not much longer be resisted, and Constantinople fell before the assaults of the Sultan Mahmoud II. in 1453. Nor was Mahmoud's ambition contented with this. He reduced to

submission Servia, Bosnia, and Albania, thereby becoming master of the entire Balkan Peninsula, not excluding the Island of Eubœa, which he wrested from the Republic of Venice. And in 1480 he even crossed the Adriatic and took possession of Otranto. The following century witnessed a further advance of the Mussulman power under Suleiman the Legislator, the greatest of all the Sultans. This potentate turned the Knights of St. John out of Rhodes, conquered a large portion of Hungary, and exacted a large annual tribute from King Ferdinand, the brother of Charles V.; and after widely devastating the country round, marched on Vienna, to which he laid siege, though unsuccessfully. He also annexed Tripoli, and took Tunis, which, however—yet only after inflicting a disastrous defeat on the navy of Charles V.—he had eventually to abandon. But the turning point was now near at hand. In 1571 the fleet which the energy of St. Pius V. had been successful in forming out of the allied forces of Spain and Venice, and in placing under the command of Don John of Austria, encountered the Turkish navy at Lepanto and entirely destroyed it. For long afterwards the Sultans caused deep anxiety to Europe, and a century later took Podolia from Poland, and again almost succeeded in taking Vienna. They lent their support too during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries to the Algerian pirates to whose misdeeds we shall have occasion to refer presently. Nor have they even yet, as we know too well, ceased to oppress the Christian races, and to harass the peace of Europe. Still from the day of Lepanto their power has been steadily on the decrease, and it is not impossible that the present generation may see them driven back across the Bosphorus, which they first crossed six centuries ago.

This slight sketch will enable a reader to realize the danger under which Christendom subsisted for so long a time, and so prepare the mind the better to enter into the spirit of the Crusade Bulls. It is sad to look back on the unheeding perversity with which the European Sovereigns treated this constant danger. When the Turks were first crossing the Dardanelles, and could have been repelled with comparative ease by a united effort of the Christian Sovereigns, King Edward III. was neglecting his people at home and devastating France in pursuit of a worthless dynastic claim. When the defeat of Bajazet by Timour opened the way once more for an easy victory to the Christian forces, Henry V. was again invading France, and achieving victories, which had they not been fortunately counterbalanced by corresponding defeats in the next reign, must have had the ultimate result of reducing England to an appanage of the French Crown. It was the same with Germany, torn by domestic strife, and with the enterprising cities of Northern Italy, which were intent only on warring against one another, each even hoping that the Turkish arms might inflict some disaster on its rival. In the sixteenth century this perversity of the Western States became yet more scandalous. The Lutheran heresy had then arisen, and was rending Germany by the wars and plots through which it hoped to establish its religious ascendancy; and these Lutherans, in league with the French King, not himself Lutheran but prepared to accept all means for enlarging his dominions at the expense of those of the Empire, did not hesitate to enter into secret treaties with the Sultan Suleiman, and to aid him in his efforts to subdue Hungary and reach Vienna.

Through all this long and critical period, it was the Popes alone who showed themselves truly alive to the is-

sues involved. Over and over again they appealed to the Sovereigns to lay aside their domestic quarrels and unite in the spirit of the old Crusades for the preservation of their common faith and civilization. Thus in 1394, Boniface IX., though at a time when, owing to the presence of the rival claimants at Avignon, he was not secure on his own throne at Rome, in his letter to the Legate whom he sent into Germany, describes most pathetically the ravages already wrought by Bajazet in many a fair Christian province, and the danger of further ravages to come; and laments that "the whole of Christendom, which if only it was at peace, could successfully overcome these many and even greater calamities, was either torn with open, parricidal, and more than civil wars, or if in any part it seemed to be at peace, was perturbed and weakened by fierce antipathies and wicked dissensions." He tried, however, and with partial success, to gather together an army of volunteers, and sent them to help the King of Hungary, whose dominions were being invaded. The immediate result was the terrible disaster at Nikopol, but, this notwithstanding, the tide of invasion might have been turned eventually had there but been a persevering effort to carry out the Pope's policy of a Christian League. Eugenius IV., under whom in the Council of Florence the Orthodox Greeks had been reconciled to the Holy See, was another Pope who strove to unite the Western Sovereigns in a Crusade for the defence of their Eastern brethren. He succeeded in procuring peace between France and England, and supported with all his might the efforts of the two great Hungarian heroes, John Hunyadi and Scanderbeg. Still France and England were too seriously weakened by the Hundred Years' War to lend much aid, whilst in Germany the Hussites were creating much trouble and were secretly favoring the Turks. It is to such reasons

that the Battle of Varna, which just missed being a victory to the Christian forces, became instead a decisive defeat, leading on in due course to the overthrow of Constantinople ten years later. After Eugenius IV. came Nicholas V., Callixtus III., and Pius II., all of whom, and especially the last two, labored strenuously to unite the powers of Europe, and, these again failing them, strained their own resources to the utmost. And finally, to pass over intermediate Popes who might be named, there was St. Pius V., to whose initiative and strenuous exhortations, as well as aids, was due, as we have seen, the alliance between Spain, Venice, and the Papacy, which led to the decisive battle of Lepanto.

All these Popes, who one after another endeavored to arouse Christendom to a sense of its danger, had recourse to the same Bulls of indulgence and dispensation as those earlier Popes who organized the Crusades, commonly so called. Most justifiably deeming it a true spiritual work—a work, that is to say, for God and the souls of men—thus to contribute by personal services or monetary offerings towards repelling an invasion which in proportion as it proved successful would mean religious persecution and wholesale apostasy of populations which for many centuries had been Christian, they deemed it becoming to excite and reward the contributors by spiritual benefits and relaxations. Still their appeals, which were to the whole of Christendom, and found it so largely irresponsive, were intermittent in their character and eventually ceased. In the Spanish Peninsula, however, there was a further evil of a similar kind with which the inhabitants had to contend, one that was close at hand and pressed on them uninterruptedly for eight centuries in one form and for three centuries more in another. In 710 the Saracens, who for some time previously had been extending their way west-

wards along the north coast of Africa, crossed over into Spain and soon overran the whole Peninsula. They even crossed the Pyrenees and established themselves in the Gallic district of Septimania, though from this territory they were quickly driven by Charles Martel, after the fatal battle of Tours. A tiny district amidst the mountains of Asturias in the northwest was all that still remained to the Christian Spaniards, but it was the base from which the movement of recovery was enabled to start. This movement, however, was slow and difficult. By the time of Charlemagne, that is, in the beginning of the ninth century, the Moorish border still ran north of the Ebro; and so it remained even in 1030, except that in the northwest the little kingdom of Asturias, now known as the Kingdom of Leon, had then advanced southwards into the valley of the Tagus. By the beginning of the thirteenth century the northern half of the Peninsula had returned into Christian hands; and by the middle of the fourteenth the Moorish rule was confined to the narrow province of Granada, in the extreme south. But it was not till the end of the fifteenth that Ferdinand and Isabella drove the last remnants of Mohammedan rule back into Africa.

During all this long period of storm and struggle for the recovery of their native soil and the rescue of their own kith and kin from Moorish servitude, the sense that they were engaged in a truly religious war was deep in the minds of the Spaniards. So their leaders sought the aid of the Holy See, in the form of Crusade Bulls, for the same purpose and of the same kind as those issued in support of the more general Crusade of which we have been speaking.

Thus Urban II. in 1089 and Gelasius II. in 1118, by a Crusade Bull of this kind, offered spiritual privileges to those who would aid in the reconquest of Tarragona;

Innocent III. in 1212 granted one on the occasion of the war which terminated in the decisive victory of the Spaniards over the Almohades Moors at Las Navas de Tolosa; Gregory IX. in 1232 for the war which terminated in the reconquest of Valencia; Clement IV. in 1265 for the war for the conquest of Murcia. All these were Bulls granted for particular occasions, and expired with them. When Ferdinand and Isabella undertook the war for the Conquest of Granada, which led to the final expulsion of the Moors from Spain, a new precedent was set, for from that time forth the concession of these Bulls de la Cruzada became perpetual, not indeed in the sense that any of them was for more than a limited period, but that it became the custom for the Popes on the solicitation of the Spanish Kings to renew the grant as soon as the time fixed by the preceding Bull was expired; and in this way it has become a lasting institution in the religious life of the country—in fact of all those lands which at any time since the fifteenth century had formed part of the dominions of the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns. It is for this reason that the custom still prevails in the parts of Italy and Sicily which till recently formed the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and likewise in the greater part of South America, in Mexico, the Philippine Islands, etc. From the time of Julius II. too (1497)), and still more from the time of Gregory XIII. (1575), the character of the privileges granted by the Cruzada Bulls has been changed in the sense of their becoming ampler and more systematic in their concessions, and creating that religious practice which, yet further modified in some slight matters by Pius IX., still subsists in the countries of which Spain is a type—and which is what we are seeking to explain and vindicate as against the misconceptions indicated at the head of this article.

Here, it may be asked, on what pretext a grant of spiritual privileges to persons giving service or alms to a Crusade against the Moors or Mussulmans could be justifiably continued after wars of this kind had come to an end? But the fact is that from the sixteenth century to quite recent times a serious danger of an analogous kind threatened the Christians of those parts. In 1516, Aruch Barbarossa, a famous pirate, was invited by the native princelets of Algiers to assist them to repel the Spaniards, who, under Ferdinand the Catholic, had followed up the Conquest of Granada by an invasion of Algiers and an occupation of its principal city. Barbarossa not only came, but substituted his own rule for that of his inviters, and thus established that powerful system of organized piracy which for so long made Barbary a terror to the Christian voyagers on the waters of the Mediterranean and the Christian dwellers on its coasts. For a vivid picture of how this terror pressed on its victims, we may quote from the letter issued by the Archbishop of Naples, notifying to the subjects of Ferdinand IV., King of the Two Sicilies, a Crusade Bull of Pius VI. It belongs to the end of the eighteenth century, being dated February, 1778; but the account it gives would have been equally appropriate at any date during the previous two hundred and fifty or more years.

(To gain these Indulgences) you are not required to encounter the perils of the deep . . . or to expose your lives and your fortunes to the risks of long pilgrimages and to the fury of the Barbarians; nor is it a conquest you are called upon to make for the recovery of the Holy Places. The tears, the sighs, and lamentations of our brethren, who groan in servitude beneath this yoke of the piratical States of Barbary, are the potent motives by which our Holy Father appeals to the faithful to dry the tears of their brethren and to restore peace to our seas. . . . There can be no undertaking more

worthy of a man and of a believing Christian than that of holding out a helping hand to a brother who has been trodden down beneath the feet of the Barbarians. Our seas are now full of Barbarian vessels, which are incessantly approaching our shores, carrying off and putting in chains their unfortunate inhabitants, who whilst working in their own fields or sailing along our coasts in the exercise of their trade find the bread of grief, there where they sought to find subsistence for the families from which they have been torn. These fathers, sons, husbands, removed far away from their children, mothers, and wives, not only bring ruin on their abandoned families, but are tempted to bend under their sufferings and sorrows, and at length to permit the Infidels to wrest from their hearts the sacred treasure of the faith. Your love, then, for your faith, your tender affection for these numerous victims of misfortune, your own spiritual profit, your own security (against similar calamities) should move you, dear brethren, to join the Holy League, which can bring true spiritual blessings into our Kingdom and true welfare to our people. Let the faithful know, then, that our Holy Father, at the instance of our most religious Sovereign, summons the Christians of this Kingdom to join this Sacred League, by his exhortations rather than his commands; to which exhortation we also join our prayers and our tears of entreaty. . . . Each of you then, dear brethren, is not commanded, but called to this great work, because what is asked of you is not a tribute but an alms, the nature of which requires that it should be entirely free and voluntary.

The Bull from which this extract is taken is, as has been noted, one granted to the subjects of the Neapolitan, not the Spanish Crown. The Neapolitan subjects, being much nearer to Algeria, were the more exposed to the ravages of these Mohammedan pirates. The danger, however, to the Spaniards from this source was very serious, and much of the proceeds of the Spanish Cruzada was devoted to its abatement. Still, if we rightly understand—for the full text of these ancient Cruzada Bulls is not easily accessible—this point was not expressly

stated in the Spanish Bulls, which on the contrary continued to specify the Turkish danger as that in view of which they were granted. For many years too after the battle of Lepanto the alms of Christendom were really needed for that general European purpose, as this battle, if decisive in the sense of determining the moment from which the Turkish power commenced its decline, by no means, as we have seen, stayed the ambitions and endeavors of the Sultans to extend their rule over the provinces of Western Christendom. And when gradually the need of funds for this purpose was lessened, although there was no express mention of the change in the text of the periodical renewals of the Bull, a tacit understanding grew up that the system which they had created should not be extinguished on that account, but that the proceeds of the alms collected under its provisions should be applied to pious uses of other kinds. And in this way things continued till 1851, when Pius IX., at the solicitation of Queen Isabella, made a change by his Apostolic Letter of September 5, *Dum infidelium furor*—the text of which has been repeated in all subsequent renewals. After reciting that the previous grants of his more recent predecessors had been made, as has just been said, “with the intention that the alms collected in connection with the Indult might be applied to pious uses,” he ordains that in future they shall be applied, after some small deductions for the support of the Vatican Basilica, exclusively to the support of divine worship in the Spanish dioceses, thereby taking the place of the funds for this purpose which had been confiscated or dissipated during the times of revolution; and this is the system which now prevails.

It may seem that this historical disquisition has run to too great length, but unless these past facts are borne

in mind it is impossible to understand why there should prevail in the Spanish dominions a system differing so much from what prevails elsewhere, and why the Popes should encourage and regulate it instead of recalling those countries to the methods prevalent elsewhere. In its spiritual as well as in its civil and social institutions and habits, the present of each country is the outcome of its past—even of its long past. It is in man's nature that it should be so, and the Holy See has never sought to fight against so imperative a necessity, but, on the contrary, has always used it and striven to regulate it. There is also another point to be considered in this connection; for the course of the centuries has wrought a change in the temperament, not of particular races only, but of the human race generally, at all events of its civilized portion. We need not stop to estimate whether, in the general balance of advances and declensions, the final outcome spells improvement or decay; but it is a certain fact that the modern generations simply could not live under the stern austerities and restrictions which in former ages were accepted as possible and reasonable. Hence the present extensive mitigation of the ancient discipline, which has been introduced by successive and gradual stages, the Church authorities interposing from time to time by such adaptations and concessions as the circumstances of the moment seemed to require, but without definite consciousness of the general character of the process. Such a history as affecting one particular country, is that of the changes wrought after this manner in Spain and the kindred nations, under the influence of the Cruzada and the Bulls of Indult to which they led—for these were the only nations which seriously persevered in the work of the Crusade. And the result has

been the growth of a special system of mitigated observance, which having become thus ingrained into the very life of the people cannot now be changed without violence, even by the Popes; and unless perhaps in some minor points, does not need to be changed, since when rightly estimated it contains no real improprieties, and in the matter of leniency or laxity does not differ materially from what is in use in other countries—our own, for instance. These two points, however, require to be established by a detailed examination of the provisions of the Bull, in special reference to the objections stated at the commencement of this present article. To this further task we shall address ourselves in our next issue.

SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

The Month, February, 1904.



The Bula de la Cruzada

II.

THE SYSTEM OF THE CRUZADA.

IN a previous article we took in hand the idea prevalent in this country as to the character of the Spanish usage called the Cruzada, and we prepared the way for an elucidation of the subject by an historical retrospect, to show how far back in the past the roots of the usage are traceable. A usage so ancient, we pointed out, which had its origin in a most just regard for the spiritual requirements of the times, which grew by gradual and natural stages into its present form, and has thus become interwoven with the temperament and habits of the people, cannot without fatal consequences be swept away by a mere exercise of Papal authority. All that can be done by a prudent ruler is to regulate it, by removing any serious abuses that may have crept in, but leaving to continue those essential elements of the usage which, if rightly understood and practised, are free from impropriety and adapted to the modern conditions of the countries affected. And this is exactly the course which the Holy See has in fact followed. There have been in the past gross abuses in the collection and administration of the funds, but these have been, in substance at all events, removed; and what has remained is, we contend and now propose to show, free from impropriety, particularly from those improprieties which it is the custom in this country to impute to it.

These imputed improprieties may be reduced to two heads: that the spiritual concessions granted by the Cru-

zada amount to a system of scandalous laxity, and that instead of being granted freely they are made available only to those who will purchase them in the market, which is simoniacal and demoralizing. We will consider them in this order, and in the first place therefore as to the charge of laxity. Does the system of the Cruzada foster an undue laxity of spiritual observance by granting Indulgences too profusely and on too easy conditions, by exempting improperly from the ordinary discipline of fasting and abstinence, or by making offers of what is called Composition? These are the three points to which objection has been chiefly taken, and to these we may confine our examination.

As the question here raised is chiefly one of degree, we need a standard of measurement to apply to it; and, inasmuch as the practice of the Spanish Catholics in this regard is wont to be set before us as contrasting unfavorably with our own, but yet as one for which, as their fellow-Catholics, we are responsible, it is clear that we must in the first place compare their practice with our own. There is, however, the further and underlying question which occurs to the mind in view of the wide difference between the rigor of the ancient discipline of the Church, particularly in regard to Indulgences, and the leniency of the discipline now generally prevailing. That the transition is defensible is a point we are entitled to assume in an article the scope of which is merely to show that one class of countries does not differ greatly from the rest in this respect. Still it will strengthen the grounds on which we are resting to have said a few words on this more general question. There was a time when it was very seriously discussed among the Catholic theologians—namely, about the time of the Council of Trent: and at that time there were not wanting good

men who lamented the growing disposition of the Holy See to innovate on the ancient discipline by multiplying Indulgences of this kind, and who regarded it as encouraging the disuse of corporal mortifications and by consequence as injurious to souls. But this was during what may be called the transition period. At the time it was not an unnatural forecast to make, but the process of multiplication of Indulgences through the direct action of the Holy See went on, and we who are the inheritors of the newer and more lenient system, can recognize from our own experience—for this new system prevails here, as indeed everywhere in modern times—that it has not caused the evils anticipated. There are many Indulgences out of which we can now choose, and we choose according to our devotion and circumstances, and find that the endeavor to gain them tends directly to foster in us the sentiments of penitence and piety, to deepen the sense of that life hidden with Christ in God which is the essence of all true religion, and so to stimulate rather than discourage the practice of such penance as may seem conducive to our spiritual progress. On the other hand, who is there among us who could suppose it would be for the good and not for the injury of souls if the Church's authority were to re-introduce the stern system which prevailed in the middle ages or earlier? It was good in its own days as adapted to the temperament of those generations, but each age needs to be treated according to its own conditions. And when we reflect on this age-long process by which the Holy See—acting at times spontaneously in the prosecution of some immediate object of desire, at other times reluctantly and only under strong pressure from without, at times judiciously, at other times it may be most injudiciously, and yet at all times chiefly looking to the exigencies of the

moment and but imperfectly realizing the general tendency of the movement it was fostering—has sanctioned one relaxation after another, in the concession of Indulgences (and, we may add also, in the concession of dispensations from fasting and abstinence, or even from matrimonial impediments and other laws formerly adhered to most rigidly); and when we further find that the eventual outcome of this process of mitigation, though attended as it has often been with temporary scandals and abuses, has been to adapt the regulations of the Church to the spiritual requirements of new periods—it is not without ground that we recognize here the traces of that special providential guidance which our Lord promised to His Church.

Keeping these general considerations in mind we may now pass to the examination of the Cruzada, which they will enable us the better to understand.

This Bull, or rather Brief, for the modern renewals are always in the form of Briefs, is addressed to the King of Spain, and recites an application received from him on behalf of his subjects as the ground for the renewal. It sets forth in fourteen clauses the various favors conceded, with the conditions attached, and appoints the Archbishop of Toledo Commissary General for the administration of the whole affair—with power to tax the alms and make any other necessary arrangements for the due carrying out of the measure. The Archbishop of Toledo, in the exercise of these faculties, draws up a Summary in which the technicalities of the Papal Letter are omitted, and the character of the various favors offered are indicated in language easier to be understood. It is the copies of this Summary which those who desire to avail themselves of the privileges of the Cruzada have to take out, and it is these which are popularly,

though incorrectly, called the Bulas. This Summary in its general form is also called the Bula de Vivos, to distinguish it from three supplementary Summaries, those de Difuntos, de Lacticinios, and de Composicion, the nature of which we shall have to explain as we go along; and from the Bula de Carnes, a comparatively modern grant, distinct from the Cruzada, of which likewise we shall have to speak.

The general Summary, or Bula de Vivos, contains fourteen clauses, each specifying some one concession, but we are confining our examination to those bearing on the three points above indicated, that is, Indulgences for the living and the dead, Dispensations from fasting fare, and Composition.

First, as to the grant of Indulgences. In Clause 1, a Plenary Indulgence is granted to all who have contributed to the holy objects of the Bull (*i.e.*, "to the expenses of Divine worship and the relief of the churches of Spain"), and have taken out this Summary—provided they be duly contrite for their sins, have confessed them, and have received the Most Holy Sacrament; or if unable to go to confession (as in the case in which a priest is not accessible), shall have a true desire to confess and communicate.

In Clause 5, a Partial Indulgence of fifteen years and fifteen quarantines is granted to those who fast voluntarily, on one of the days when they are not bound to fast, or if legitimately exempt from fasting, (*i.e.*, on account of weak health or some similar cause), have performed some other pious work assigned them in commutation by their confessor—provided they give alms and also say prayers for the exaltation of the Church, the propagation of the Catholic faith, peace and concord among Christian princes, the extirpation of heresies, and

the conversion of sinners. It is added that this Indulgence can be gained *toties quoties* during the year, that is, as often as the holder of the Summary makes such a voluntary fast, etc.

In Clause 6, the Indulgences of the Stations at Rome are extended to all holders of the Summary who, on the days of the said Stations, visit five churches, or five altars, or, if such are not accessible to them, visit some one church five times, and pray there for the above-mentioned objects. And as these Roman Indulgences of the Stations are on some days plenary but on others partial, the holders of the Summary can convert even the partial into plenary by adding Confession and Communion to the other conditions.

Here a word is needed to explain what are meant by the Indulgences of the Stations. The custom grew up at Rome in very early times for the clergy and faithful, often led by the Pope in person, to visit in turns the chief churches of the city, fixed days of the year being appointed for each church. They used to go to the Church of the Station, as it was called, in procession, and on arriving heard Mass and sermons, offered up special prayers together, and venerated the early martyrs whose memorials were there preserved. The calendar of appointed days was drawn up by St. Gregory the Great, as we learn from his biographer, John the Deacon, and assigns stations to the following days of the year, as may be seen in the Roman Missal where they are all marked—the Sundays of Advent, the Ember and Rogation-days, Christmas Eve, Christmas Day, and the three feasts following it, the Circumcision, the Epiphany, the three Sundays before Lent, the days of Lent, Easter and the days of its octave, St. Mark's Day, Ascension Day, the Vigil of Pentecost, Pentecost and the six days following

it. This custom of making the Stations in public procession seems to have died out in the thirteenth century, apparently owing to the Avignon residence of the Popes, and the Great Schism in the Papacy which succeeded it. Nicholas V., in the last half of the fifteenth century, endeavored to revive the devotion, and at times since there have been instances of public observance of the Stations just as in the old days. On the whole, however, the practice as a public observance then died out, but the Popes, by their exhortations and by a revised application of the Indulgences, have encouraged the practice which still prevails for the faithful to visit the Station churches privately on the appointed days, and to pray there for what is usually called "the Pope's intention," that is, the exaltation of the Church, the extirpation of heresies, and peace and union among Christian princes. It is this modern devotion in which the Spaniards are allowed by the Cruzada to participate.

Here then are the Indulgences for the living which can be gained during the year in Spain and the other countries to which the Cruzada applies. It should be added indeed that, as the Bull can be taken out twice in the same year by any one who so desires, he has the opportunity of gaining twice over during the year the Plenary Indulgence granted by the first clause. Still, even thus, it will be recognized by the Catholics of this country that there is so far in this Spanish practice nothing that deserves to be set down as an encouragement to laxity, seeing that we ourselves have not perhaps quite the same but quite as many opportunities of gaining Indulgences, and on as easy conditions. Indeed, we may say that substantially we have, without the Cruzada, the very same Indulgences as they, for the Indulgences of the Roman Stations can be gained here just as in Spain, by any one

who joins the Sodality of the Annunciation, or the Confraternity of the Rosary, or the Confraternity of the Sacred Heart, with which is affiliated the Confraternity of the Children of Mary.

By a recent Brief of Leo XIII. any one of the Indulgences offered under the Cruzada to the living can also be applied to the dead. But apart from this there have been for some time past ten among the days of the Stations expressly designated by the Holy See as days on which a Plenary Indulgence can be gained for the dead, in addition to that for the living. Also Clause 2 of the Cruzada, and of the General Summary, offers a further Plenary Indulgence for the dead, of the same kind as that offered in Clause 1 for the living, but on condition of a further alms. This can be gained on any day chosen throughout the year, and therefore, if the Bull is taken out twice, on two days chosen within the year. Moreover, it is in connection with this particular Indulgence for the dead, and because of the condition attached to it, that the supplementary Bula, or Summary de Difuntos, comes into use. Those who desire to gain this special Indulgence, in addition to the General Summary, take out a Bula de Difuntos, paying the needful alms for it. These are all the Indulgences offered under the Cruzada for the faithful departed, and again, mindful of what we can gain in this country, we must acknowledge that they do not overstep the limits offered elsewhere.

Surprise has, however, been expressed at two circumstances connected with these Spanish Indulgences for the dead. One is the phrase, *Hoy se saca anima*—"To-day a soul can be drawn out of Purgatory,"—which appears as a notice on the church doors when any one of the ten Station days comes round, and is also found in the

Summary at the head of the list in which these ten days are enumerated. It has been objected that the phrase implies a popular belief that the Pope claims the power to terminate at will the temporal punishment which God has thought fit to allot to the soul of any one of the departed. But the phrase does not belong to the official language of the Holy See, and is a mere Spanish colloquialism, which just on that account is allowed to appear on the church doors; and in the Summary which, as explained, avoids technicalities and condescends somewhat to the ordinary language of the people for whom it is issued. Nor is there anything objectionable in the colloquialism, which being such is not to be construed literally, any more than such legal maxims as "the King can do no wrong" are to be construed literally, but is to be construed according to the known beliefs of the people who use it. Nor is there in this respect any difference of belief between the Spaniards and ourselves. It is the universally understood doctrine that the Pope has no authority whatever in Purgatory, but that he can, as the head and representative of the Church on earth, petition Almighty God to accept whatever proportion of the good works, prayers, penances, and alms of its members He may deem necessary to satisfy the debt of punishment still remaining to be exacted from the soul for whom the offering is made. It is for Him to determine how far He will accept the offering and apply it for the release of that soul; but knowing that it is He who, through His Church, has taught us to make such offerings for the holy dead, we feel confident that He will respond to the petitions He has inspired, and it is the assurance thus derived which is expressed in the colloquialism in question.

The other circumstance which has occasioned surprise is that for obtaining the Indulgence for the dead granted

in Clause 2 no other condition is prescribed save the mere giving of the alms, no Confession or Communion, or prayer or good work,—no spiritual act, that is to say, but a mere money payment. We are reserving till later on the determination of the true character of the money payments under the Cruzada; for the moment we shall assume that they are *bona fide* alms for religious purposes, which being so they do form true spiritual acts. The alms indeed, in the case before us, is too small to be greatly felt by the donor, but neither is the recitation of such a prayer as the *En ego*, so commonly in use here as a means of gaining a Plenary Indulgence for the dead, a matter which largely strains our powers of endurance; nor must we forget, what is insisted on in every book dealing with the subject of Indulgences, that the motive for granting them on so ample a scale as is now-a-days usual, is drawn not from the severity of the conditions imposed, but from the general effect in quickening piety throughout the Church, of so many inducements to frequent the sacraments and engage in other spiritual acts. Of course it is possible that what the Church prescribes as an alms, and therefore as a true spiritual act, may be given in a purely mechanical way, but so too may the short prayer, *En ego*, be recited in a purely mechanical way; and all that one can say, in the one case as in the other, is that those who fulfil the condition prescribed in a spirit so alien from that asked for by the Church will do well to doubt whether they have fulfilled it at all, and can anticipate the promised result. This, however, is far from the ordinary practice of the devout Spaniard who, on the recurrence of the day of death and of the name-day of a departed friend, tries to gain this Indulgence for his soul, and for that object takes out the Bula de Difuntos and offers his alms to God, accompa-

nying the act with some fervent prayers, and perhaps with hearing Mass or going to Communion for the same intention.

We next come to the clauses of the Bull which contain dispensations from fasting fare. Here, in the first place, attention must be drawn to the distinction, so familiar to Catholics, but unknown to some who may perhaps see these words, between fasting and abstinence; of which the first regards the quantity of food allowed on the days concerned and the latter the quality; the former forbidding to eat more than one full meal a day, which must not be before noon, and the latter prohibiting the use of flesh-meat, of eggs and *lacticinia* (that is, the animal products, milk, butter, and cheese). The first thing to notice about the Cruzada is that it gives no dispensation at all in regard to the obligation of fasting. Those who are able to fast without injury to health must continue to do so, however much they take out the Cruzada, and those who on grounds of health are subjects for exemption can obtain their dispensations independently of it. What the Cruzada dispenses from is solely the law of abstinence, by permitting the use on fast-days of food which would otherwise be forbidden. And in regard to this it contains in Clause 4 two declarations. We call them declarations, because the first is not really a dispensation. It is to the effect that all taking out the Bull may eat flesh-meat on fast-days "under the advice of both physicians, the spiritual and the corporal, whenever necessity or weak health of body or other cause demands it." By the two physicians are, of course, meant the confessor and the doctor, and the case contemplated is one when Catholics are understood to be legitimately dispensed all over the world, so that at most this clause has for the present day the value of an authentic

declaration that these dispensations are legitimate. That it is expressed in the form of a permission is probably due to its having originated at a time when such dispensations, though in principle recognized as lawful, were less freely granted, and were reserved to the Bishop instead of being left to the confessor to grant.

The second declaration in Clause 4 grants leave for eggs and *lactinia* on all fast-days even in Lent, and here there is no stipulation that the confessor and doctor be consulted, but on the contrary a declaration that it may be used "freely." By all the laity that is to say, for this dispensation is somewhat limited as regards the clergy, secular and regular. In the Cruzada Bull itself these are still restricted to the use of eggs and *lactinia* during the whole of Lent, but since the time of Urban VIII. (1624), on representations from the Kings of Spain this restriction has been lessened, and now leaves the clergy free to eat eggs and *lactinia*, except during Holy Week.

We shall have to speak in a moment of the further concessions of the modern Bula de Carnes, but as the above are all the dispensations contained in the Cruzada as it stood till the beginning of the last century, indeed as it still stands so far as its own text goes, we may break off here, as in the case of the Indulgences, to compare the Spanish system with that of our own country. As regards fasting proper, that is, as regards the number of meals allowed, we are in exactly the same position as they. In virtue of the Lenten Indults, which are issued regularly year by year in England, eggs are forbidden only on Ash Wednesday and the last three days of Holy Week, and cheese only on Ash Wednesday and Good Friday; milk and butter are allowed on all days throughout the year. Obviously then there is no sub-

stantial difference between our modern custom and theirs, and if we compare both with the past and ask for the reasons which can have justified so radical a departure from the type of abstinence enforced on our ancestors, we find them to be not less and perhaps more cogent as regards Spain than as regards England. Writing in 1758, Archbishop Cerezo, at that time the Commissary General for the Cruzada, referring to the former hardships its dispensations had alleviated, speaks as follows: "The law (of abstinence) deprives us of a good number of dishes pleasant to the palate and not injurious to health, and the privation presses with particular severity on those countries where—as St. Gregory says of certain mountainous regions—if one sometimes hears talk of fresh fish one seldom sees it, and where in consequence one has to keep the fast on herbs and vegetables, and make the best of fish that has been salted." Even in England, in mediæval times, indeed throughout the pre-railway period, this difficulty must have been seriously felt. The monks may have had their fish ponds, but to what an extent they were dependent on salted fish may be seen from the interesting lists of their daily *menus* in Dean Kitchin's *Register of St. Swithin's Abbey*, at Winchester. Yet Winchester was comparatively near the sea. What then must have been the condition of the monks who lived further inland, and what of the population generally, for whom it must have been impracticable to obtain regular supplies from distant fisheries? Indeed, one marvels how they could live under such conditions, nor is it surprising that a time came when the Church, having regard to the changes which the development of trade and the consequent improvement in the food of the people had wrought in human constitutions, should judge that she might relax somewhat her ancient assignment of

fasting fare, without thereby disturbing its proportionate effect as a mortification of the flesh.

And if this cause sufficed for the relaxation in countries like our own, much more must it be held to have sufficed for a country like Spain. Indeed it might be contended with some force that in modern England, with its many fisheries so rich alike in the abundance and the variety of their yield, and its perfect system of transport, the causes which, according to Archbishop Cerezo, originally justified the permission of eggs and *lacticinia* have ceased to exist. But such a contention would be much less forcible as applied to modern Spain. That country has indeed its fisheries, but chiefly of anchovies, bream, and congers on the Atlantic coast, and of tunny, bass, mullet, and gurnard on the Mediterranean. For such fish as the cod, the herring, the ling, and the mackerel, which alone are in sufficient abundance to supply the ordinary wants of whole populations, the Spaniards are dependent on northern fisheries like our own, which means that they can have experience of such fish only in the salted condition. Then too there is the defect of transport in the undeveloped state of Spanish railways.

Bearing these facts in mind, we shall be the better able to judge of the fitness of the Bula de Carnes, to which allusion has already been made, and to which we now come. Some of our readers may have been saying to themselves, "But surely in Spain there is permission to eat flesh-meat on most of the days when it is prohibited by the law of abstinence in other countries." No doubt it is so, but through the Bula de Carnes and in no way through the Cruzada. The Bula de Carnes, which like the others of which we have spoken is a summary issued by the Commissary General of the Cruzada, is based on a Brief originally granted by Pius VII. on September 19, 1800,

which has since been renewed in the same way as the Cruzada. We have not had access to the Brief of September, 1800, but a consequent Brief to the General Commissary, dated August 7, 1801, describes it as having been granted in response to the solicitations of Carlos IV., who had asked that meat might be allowed on all but a very few days during the year, alleging as a motive, "not merely the high cost but even the absolute dearth of other kinds of food" from which the country was then suffering, and asking that leave might be given not merely "whilst the present war lasts, but for a period of six years, seeing that even when the war is over it will require that time to repair the losses and calamities which the towns and villages have suffered."¹ The war in question was the war against England into which Spain had been driven by her alliance with the French Republic. It had led, after the disaster to the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent, to a very effective blockade, an idea of which may be gathered from the memoirs of Lord Dundonald, and the result was that the capture and importation of sea-fish was for the time entirely prevented. Pius VII., under these circumstances readily acceded to the King's representations, and granted leave for flesh-meat on all days of the year, save Ash Wednesday, the Fridays of Lent, the last four days of Holy Week, the vigils of Christmas, Pentecost, SS. Peter and Paul, and the Assumption. This exemption was conditioned by the previous taking out of the Cruzada, and by the further payment of a special alms which in this instance was to go, not to the fund for maintaining public worship, but to the poor, the Pope

(1) Salces, *Explicacion de la Bula de la Santa Cruzada*, p. 411, App.

quoting the words of St. Caesarius,¹ "If a man cannot fast let him give to the poor;" and for this same reason to the poor the Bula de Carnes was to be given free. It was Pius VII.'s intention that this Indulto Cuaresmal, as it is also called, should cease at the expiration of the six years. But that period sufficed for a national habit to form, and, as we observed in the last article, the Holy See in its prudence is wont to respect the formed habits of a nation, save where they involve a serious abuse. In the case of this grant, moreover, we can see solid reasons why the usage which a transitory national calamity had first necessitated should be allowed to pass into the habitual observance of the nation—for on the one hand the difficulties of a fresh-fish supply for the whole population, as we have reflected, still persists in that country, and on the other hand, the succession of troubles, particularly the religious troubles through which it has had to pass during the nineteenth century, were such as to render undesirable every unnecessary innovation on its religious ways. Such would seem to have been the reasons which have induced the Holy See to sanction, as it has done by regular renewals, the continuance of the permission first granted in 1800.

We come now to the third class of concessions granted in the Cruzada, that referring to what is called Composition, and here it must be acknowledged we find an arrangement which, until its principle is clearly understood, may very naturally seem extraordinary. By Composition is meant an agreement between debtor and creditor, by which the latter, in consideration of the circumstances, agrees to take a portion of what is owing to him as a sufficient discharge of the whole debt. In the sense of the

(1) Hom. xii.

Cruzada, it is an agreement of this kind by which the Holy See, as the supreme administrator of ecclesiastical and charitable funds, accepts on behalf of some one or other of these funds a portion of what is due to it from an unjust possessor, and on this condition discharges him from all further obligation to restore. There are three clauses in the Cruzada Summary appertaining to this Composition, in two of which the unjust possessors in question are ecclesiastics who have spent the incomes of their benefices, though aware of some flaw in their title, or of a neglect to discharge the duties to which the benefice obliged them. Such ecclesiastics are bound to restore all that they have unjustly appropriated of these Church funds, and are incapable of receiving absolution for their sins until they have either done so already or given solid proofs of a sincere intention to do so as soon as possible. The Cruzada does nothing towards validating their title or protecting them from punishment for the neglect of duty, but condones to them the larger portion of the sum they are bound to restore. In these two cases, the creditor being clearly the Church, there can be no difficulty in recognizing that the Church, through her supreme administrator, has the absolute right to abate a portion of her just claims. Whether it is also a reasonable thing to grant such an abatement is a further question we can consider along with the similar question which will arise in regard to the next clause.

This next clause, the fourteenth in the Summary, runs thus: "Finally," says the General Commissary, "we are empowered (by the Cruzada Brief) to fix, but solely for the court of conscience, a competent composition for goods unjustly acquired, in the words and form prescribed in the (already cited) Summary of Composition."

Turning to this Summary of Composition for further information, we read that "the Vicar of Christ, desiring to provide for the peace of conscience of those of the faithful who are afflicted by the burden of having to restore the goods or property of others, . . . empowers (the Commissary) to grant composition . . . to such as have unjustly taken or acquired what belongs to others, *if* after having diligently made the needful inquiries, they are unable to find the persons to whom they ought to make restitution—provided that they take an oath that they have made such diligent inquiries, and that, in taking or acquiring what belongs to others, they have not acted in reliance and hope of receiving this composition." The Commissary then goes on to exercise the power given him and to assign the composition, and the character of this we shall explain in a moment; but first to get a clear idea of the circumstances. The case contemplated is where a man has been guilty of dishonesty in either taking or keeping what is not his own. He has become repentant for his sin and desires God's forgiveness through the Sacrament of Penance. But he must, in order to obtain it, be ready to make restitution to the person injured, unless indeed, and so far forth as, this person in kindness forgives him the whole or a portion of the debt. So far the Cruzada grant has no application. But suppose the true owner of what has been unjustly taken is not to be found, either because it is not known who he is, or because it is not known where he is, although the offender has conscientiously done all that is possible to discover him. What is to be done in that case? Probably the mass of people would solve such a case in their own favor, thinking that as there was no discoverable owner, they were lucky enough to be delivered from the duty of restitution. But Catholic theology

lays down another principle besides that of restitution to the person injured—the principle that “no man must enrich himself with the goods of others,” and that if he cannot find the real owner he must make the restitution to the Church for the service of God or to the poor, that is, to some public object by which all benefit, these funds being the nearest representatives of the missing owner that are discoverable—for it is assumed that if his money cannot be restored to himself, he would wish it applied to these good objects rather than that it should enrich the unjust possessor. It is thus that the jurisdiction of the Holy See comes in, for the above-mentioned funds having in the way described obtained by devolution a right to the restitution due, the Pope, their Supreme Administrator, has a right to exact it, or, on good grounds, to remit a portion of it. This is the point which needs to be specially noted, for it lies at the root of the whole matter. Just as the owner, because he is the owner, is entitled either to exact the whole or in clemency to condone a part of the debt, so if he cannot be found, the fund to which his proprietary right passes is entitled to do one or other of these things through its lawful administrator.

But how about the reasonableness of such a remission, especially in the abatement granted through the Cruzada—which, for debts less than about thirty pounds of English money, is of all but a fourteenth of the whole. Must it not tend to encourage dishonesty, since people might say, “I will take this that does not belong to me, for I can avail myself of the Cruzada, and by restoring a small portion, keep the rest and still save my soul”? This objection, however, is quickly answered, for one who thus acted would not be able to use the Cruzada, because of its stipulation that the person must not have

acted dishonestly in reliance on the offer of composition. Still, apart from this, can it be of good precedent to remit so much? From the point of view of the interest of the ecclesiastical funds concerned, it is answered by the commentators on the Cruzada that by this leniency the pious funds get what amounts up to a very valuable annual contribution, whereas if they were to exact their full rights they might get much less, the task of restoring large sums being mostly a very hard one, and such as the debtor is wont to shrink from. And this consideration further supplies the key to the question whether the arrangement is good, spiritually, for the debtors themselves. Here one must reflect on the state in which persons bound to restore usually find themselves. It is much more easy to take from another than to pay it back again. At the moment of taking the dishonest person is the richer by the sum which he has taken. But as time goes on this increment to his store has disappeared, and it is often very difficult for him to get together the amount of his debt; or, even if his dishonesty has added to his lawful means, it has often caused him to enter into various relations with others which must be broken through, after perhaps years of standing, if he is to pay back all that he took. The effect is to deter him from restitution and therefore repentance. "I would gladly make my peace with God, but it means making this full restitution at the cost of ruin to self and family, to fortunes and reputation, for it will all have to come out, and this is a calamity I have not the courage to face." Of course, his creditor has a perfect right to exact the debt from him in full, and say to him, "These are but the consequences of your dishonesty which have fallen upon you." Still, if the creditor, knowing the circumstances, is disposed to be lenient with his debtor, that the path of repentance may

be smoothed for him, the creditor's conduct is most laudable, and it is under this aspect that the Church, as acting through the Cruzada, regards her own attitude to the repentant offender, in the case when the true proprietor is not discoverable and she has become his substitute.

Such are the principles on which the practice of Composition rests. As regards the method in which the restitution under it is made, a very brief account may suffice. As in the case of the Indulgences for the dead, and the permission for flesh-meat, the person, having taken out the General Summary, further takes out some Summaries of Composition, as many as he requires to make up the sum he has to restore; for he pays for each of these summaries one peseta and five céntimos—a little over tenpence of English money—and this is the Composition for fourteen pesetas and seventy-one céntimos. He may take out up to fifty of these if need be, but if that does not suffice to compound for his obligation—in other words, if the sum for which he compounds is above thirty pounds of English money—he must lay his case individually before the Commissary-General and take his decision. And in all cases, whatever the composition paid in may be, it goes like the rest of the income of the Cruzada to defray the expenses of the Church services. It is a curiously old-world method, no doubt, and such as would never have been devised for any newly-introduced scheme, but effective enough in its way, and one to which the people have grown accustomed through long-standing usage.

Enough, perhaps, has now been said about the privileges granted by the Cruzada, but we have still to examine the objection taken to what is alleged to be the simoniacal traffic whereby the Bulas—that is, the Summaries—are bought and sold over the counter in the pub-

lic shops. But not every interchange of spirituals and temporals is tainted with the vice of simony, for, as St. Paul says, "those who serve the altar must live by the altar," in other words be provided with a maintenance by those who profit by their spiritual services; and so likewise, since the worship of God, the administration of the sacraments, and the many other works of piety and charity which are carried on by the Church involve expenditure of money, the faithful can reasonably be asked to supply it. Still this is a point into which we need not enter now, for the interchange between the favors granted by the Cruzada and the pecuniary contributions prescribed as the condition for gaining them, is, as we have already pointed out, an interchange, not of spirituals for temporals, but of spirituals for spirituals—since almsgiving for a sacred object, such as the maintenance of Divine worship, is a distinctly spiritual act. Nor can it be reasonably said that simony or quasi-simony enters in through the mode of collection. For what happens is this. The alms being "taxed," that is, fixed at a definite but very small sum, there has to be some means of securing that this sum is paid. Such security is taken by the method of issuing copies of the Summaries, called *Bulas*, to those and those only, who contribute the taxed alms, and on receiving them inscribe their names in the blank space left for the purpose, thereby fulfilling the conditions which, by the terms of the Commissary's ordination, qualify them to enjoy the spiritual privileges of the Cruzada. It is true that these summaries, instead of being supplied direct by the clergy are supplied to certain shops, that is, the shops where prayer-books, crucifixes, and other articles of piety are sold. The applicants get them from these shops, which hand over to the Commissary-General the alms received for them. The arrange-

ment is convenient in view of the number of the applicants, and such shops being in more intimate relations with the clergy, have about them a certain religious complexion. But the mere fact of paying in one's alms in a shop and receiving in turn across the counter what we may call a receipt for the same, does not necessarily constitute a purchase, nor do the pious Spaniards, though colloquially they may use the phrase, "buying a Bula," really imagine they are buying Indulgences, or doing aught else than contributing an alms for a spiritual object, in return for which some spiritual favor will be granted them.

We have now reviewed all the main features in this interesting survival of mediæval methods, and have seen that, if its machinery is somewhat curious and complicated, and if thereby it lays itself somewhat open to the misconstructions of a superficial observer, it is based on the same sound principles which govern Catholic spirituality elsewhere, and by no means tends to encourage a gross and mechanical or other than a pure and elevating religious practice. We have seen, too, what deep-seated roots this system has in the past of the Spanish nation, and by what intelligible and natural course it has developed into its modern form. We may venture, therefore, to draw the same conclusion as at the end of the preceding and the beginning of the present article, though now from a broader foundation of fact. Whether this system of the Cruzada is absolutely the best is not the question. Probably if the Holy See and the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of those parts had no past history to take into account, but were devising a purely new system for a new and unformed race, they would follow the lines of Catholic usage elsewhere, and avoid arrangements which can be misrepresented with such a plausible show

of truth. Possibly, too, even as it is, these authorities would be glad to assimilate the usage of their countries to the usage more generally prevalent throughout the Church, if only they could count on the willingness of the populations concerned to accept so radical a change. Still this "if" is just what cannot be relied upon. Whole populations do not suddenly change—especially when called upon to do so out of regard for the prejudices of outside people—the habits into which they have grown through the course of centuries, and have thereby come to understand and like. And hence a prudent ecclesiastical ruler knows well that—even though he be a Pope, and be dealing with a population notable for its piety and obedience—if by a sudden reversal of past policy he were thus to set himself against the innate impulses of human nature and social organisms, the inevitable result must be a general unsettlement of minds which could not fail to be prejudicial to religion.

SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

The Month, March, 1904.

INDIAN TRIBAL FUNDS.

Father Ketcham's Statement.

COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS,

UNITED STATES SENATE,

February 3, 1905.

The sub-committee met, pursuant to call of the chairman.

Present: Senators Stewart (chairman), Clapp, McCumber, Dubois, and Teller. There was also present Hon. Francis E. Leupp, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and Rev. Father William H. Ketcham, Director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions.

The committee having under consideration the Indian appropriation bill, the Rev. Father William H. Ketcham appeared before the committee, desiring to be heard in the matter of the use of Indian tribal funds for the maintenance of sectarian schools.

STATEMENT OF THE REV. FATHER WILLIAM H. KETCHAM.

Senator DUBOIS. Please state who you are and whom you represent.

Father KETCHAM. My name is William H. Ketcham, Director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions.

Senator DUBOIS. Is your residence here?

Father KETCHAM. My residence is in Washington. The Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions is an institution established by the Catholic Church in the third plenary council of Baltimore, and represents the Catholic Indian missions at the seat of government. It was established as a convenience for the missionaries who are located on

the reservations and who would find it inconvenient to come to Washington in person to represent their mission interests.

I would preface my remarks by stating that Mr. E. L. Scharf whose name came up before the committee the other day, is in no sense of the word an agent of the Catholic Church or the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. I have a statement from His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons to this effect, which I wish to leave with you. It reads as follows:

BALTIMORE, MD., February 1, 1905.

In view of certain statements made by Senator Bard before the Committee on Indian Affairs of the Senate, as reported in the *Washington Post* of this date, I deem it proper to state that the Catholic Church has no political agent at Washington or anywhere else; that Prof. E. L. Scharf, who is referred to in Senator Bard's statement, is not an agent of the Catholic Church or of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, and has never been employed by the church or by the Catholic Indian Bureau in any way whatsoever.

JOHN (sic) CARD. GIBBONS,
Archbishop of Baltimore and

President of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions.

The only person delegated to speak officially for the church in Indian matters is the Cardinal, Archbishop of Baltimore, President of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, with whom are associated the Archbishops of Philadelphia and New York and the Director, who acts under him. I would like to state that the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions is in no sense of the word a political organization. Now, in regard to the question concerning the use of tribal funds for Indian mission schools, I would like to submit this statement, which explains the position of the bureau.

Senator TELLER. What is it?

Father KETCHAM. It is a statement that I have made, and which was published in the *Post* yesterday morning:

The Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions has not asked for any appropriation for the support of the Catholic Indian schools since the year 1900, nor has it endeavored to in any way unsettle the settled policy of the Government in respect to the contract school system. The question at issue is imply this: Shall an Indian parent have the right to use his own money in the education of his own children in the school of his choice? The Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions has always contended, in cases where Indian tribes have funds of their own, whether these funds be in the United States Treasury drawing annual interest or whether appropriated annually by virtue of treaty stipulations growing out of the lands and rights which the Indians have ceded to the United States, that the Secretary of the Interior, who is authorized to expend these moneys in his discretion for the benefit of the Indians, may, since education is of the greatest benefit to the Indians, in his judgment, dispense such money for such purpose; that in so doing it is a matter of indifference whether he pay for the education of the Indian wards in a schoolhouse that is painted red or one that is painted white; that is situated on the north side of a public thoroughfare or on the south; in a school taught by teachers appointed by the Government or by teachers appointed by the Protestant churches or by the Catholic Church.

The Bureau has contended, further, that in cases where Indians desire to educate their children in mission schools the Secretary of the Interior not only may, but should, in consideration of his wards' wishes, pay for the education of such children in mission schools out of the tribal funds. The greatest objection urged against this contention of the Bureau was that the Indian funds are held in common, but at the same time the admission is made that if these moneys were apportioned out to the individual Indian, then the individual Indian would be free to pay for the education of his child in whatever school he might desire to patronize. The position of the Bureau was that if the individual Indian after the apportionment of the tribal funds would be free to use such money for education in sectarian schools, the Secretary of the Interior had a right to use a portion of the common fund for the same purpose while the funds were yet undivided.

The executive department of the Government recognized the

justice of the Bureau's contention, and accordingly granted the contracts which have so disquieted the Indian Rights Association, Senator Bard, and others. As a matter of fact, the Interior Department has all along practically admitted the legality of such contracts, because even after the contract system, properly so called, was discontinued it has without interruption supported the two Catholic schools on the Osage Reservation, Okla., out of Osage tribal funds.

It seems strange that during all these years the opponents of the Indian contract school system have taken neither offense nor alarm at what they now please to term "a breach of trust by the Government."

I read that as a statement of the case as I view it. I would like to say, Senators, in further explanation of the position we have taken in this matter, that when the Government of the United States invited the different religious denominations to co-operate with them in the civilization of the Indians the Catholic Church cheerfully responded to the invitation. At that time the Government began to appropriate moneys for the support of the schools that were established, and our people, working with zeal, met with a measure of success in the Indian work. They did not think at that time that the day would come when it would be said to them, "You have done your work well, but the Government of the United States has no further need of you. You will either support your own schools or deliver them over—give them up."

I must confess that we do not feel that this was a proper return for the money that we have expended and the lives we have practically sacrificed in the work and the zeal with which we had undertaken it. However, when at last it was decided that no further appropriation should be made for such schools we submitted, and the only effort made after that was in 1900. When we saw that it was not the intention of Congress to revive the

question, the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions submitted, and has never since that time had any intention of reopening the question. I have been approached a number of times, not only by members of the Catholic Church, but by people who are not members of any church at all, urging me to see if the question might not be reopened, and I have always refused to do so, and if any effort has been made since that time it has been made against my protest; and in this matter I represent the Cardinal and the Church in America.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Scharf appeared here once or twice, and he desired that the rations that were delivered to the heads of families might be continued notwithstanding the children were in sectarian schools—that they might be paid over to the schools. I do not think Mr. Scharf ever presented any other question.

Senator TELLER. He wanted the rations turned over to the schools instead of the families?

The CHAIRMAN. That is what he asked once or twice. I do not think he ever made any other statement before the committee.

Father KETCHAM. In this matter, whatever action he may have taken was taken upon his own initiative. I do not doubt he had the best of intentions.

The CHAIRMAN. He did not claim to be acting for anybody; he thought it was a mere matter of justice.

Senator McCUMBER. Was he not connected with the Bureau of Education in any way?

Father KETCHAM. He was not connected with the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions in any way whatsoever.

Senator McCUMBER. What was his position?

Father KETCHAM. He was a private tutor, and I think had some pupils at the Catholic University. The Cath-

olic University, in a statement issued by one of the professors who was formerly dean there, explains that he was never officially connected with the university, but had some pupils in French and some other branches—he was a private tutor. But he has no connection with us whatever. I am not reflecting on Professor Scharf.

Senator McCUMBER. I was simply asking for information, to see what position he occupied.

Father KETCHAM. He occupied no official position whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. I talked with Senator Platt about this, and he recalled that Doctor Scharf represented himself as an agent; he said he had asked that question. There was an ambiguous clause in the House bill last year that we did not think reached the question, and we passed it over without amending it.

Senator DUBOIS. Now, I have been trying to place that. Someone came to me about that ambiguous clause who wanted it in there, and I said to him, I recall, that it did not mean anything and I did not think it would be of any value. He argued that he would like to have it in anyway, the way the House had put it in. He may not have been the same man.

Senator TELLER. I do not think that it is an important question what this man did. I want to know what the Bureau of Education did. I suppose you saw in this morning's *Post* Bishop Hare's statement, where he mentions, at the bottom of it, what schools of yours had been getting advantages, and the total of each. That is not in dispute, is it?

Father KETCHAM. I do not dispute that; I want to explain how it came about. I have stated that we acquiesced in the policy of the Government in regard to the

support of our schools out of public funds, but we have always contended——

Senator TELLER. Now, you say you acquiesced in that. That is not the question. What I would like to have you direct your attention to, if you have the time, is, I want to know how you came to get this money, when no other denomination, except that little Lutheran concern, could get it, and I want to know by whose authority it was done. You saw that Bishop Hare stated the Commissioner had decided it was illegal, the Secretary had decided it was illegal, and the Attorney-General had decided it was illegal.

Father KETCHAM. Bishop Hare confounds two questions. He did not apply for tribal funds; he came in the interest of the rations.

Senator TELLER. You put it on the ground that because it was tribal funds that provision of Congress did not apply?

The CHAIRMAN. Bishop Hare was in favor of these rations being paid to the sectarian schools, and he sent a communication to that effect; he was very strong on that point. But Congress did not take action as he wanted, or as Mr. Scharf wanted, on that point.

Father KETCHAM. In regard to these tribal funds, I laid the matter before President McKinley first, with several other matters. He did not express himself very clearly on the question, but stated that he desired that the law should be interpreted as favorably as possible in favor of the church, and he referred the matter to the Secretary of the Interior; but after that reference we never heard of it.

When Mr. Roosevelt became President I consulted Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte, of Baltimore, on the matter. I have a very high regard for Mr. Bonaparte's legal

ability and his integrity, and if he had thought that the use of these funds was illegal I would have dropped the question at once and would have made no effort to obtain them. All during the efforts that we have made in this regard Mr. Bonaparte has been our legal advisor—our attorney. The question came before President Roosevelt and he said it appeared to him to be a fair proposition; that if it were lawful to do so he would do it. We had proposed a certain number of schools, and the matter was then referred to the Attorney-General, and acting on the advice of the Attorney-General—at least acting on the opinion submitted by the Attorney-General, a copy of which I have here—

Senator TELLER. Who was Attorney-General?

Father KETCHAM. Mr. Knox was Attorney-General at that time. I will read his letter.

Senator TELLER. You had better insert it in the record.

Father KETCHAM. I was authorized by the President to present this paper. The letter of the Attorney-General is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, February 2, 1905.

The PRESIDENT.

SIR: By your direction I submit a statement of what occurred in January, 1904, concerning your decision to permit the use of the interest upon certain funds held in trust by the United States for the support of sectarian schools.

The question was raised whether a certain declaration of Congress in appropriating for Indian day and industrial schools precluded the use of the funds in question in that way, and Mr. Russell, of this Department, received a note from Secretary Hitchcock, dated January 19, 1904, saying:

"The President has requested me to inform you that there will be a meeting at the executive office of the White House at 3 p. m. on Friday next (22d) to confer with reference to certain Indian matters recently brought to your notice at which meeting the President requests your presence."

The Attorney-General (Mr. Knox) and Mr. Russell, who had been considering the question, proceeded to the meeting, at which were present Secretaries Hitchcock, Cortelyou, and Wilson, and Postmaster-General Payne. On behalf of the Attorney-General a memorandum was submitted in favor of the legality of the use of the funds, and Secretary Hitchcock submitted a letter from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Thereupon the question was discussed at length and left for your determination.

Besides the memorandum referred to there was a long one giving the reasons for the conclusion reached by the Attorney-General, the substance of which Mr. Russell stated.

The brief memorandum which was left with you was as follows, as appears by a copy retained at the Department of Justice: "*Partial list of Indian funds in the Treasury in trust for particular tribes, a portion of the interest on which funds may be used for educational purposes by the Secretary of the Interior under authority of the act of April 1, 1880 (21 Stat., 70), and other acts without appropriation by Congress.*"

"These funds can be used for sectarian schools, but it would be well to do that otherwise than under contracts.

"(1) Menominee fund. Interest, \$7,651.96 per annum. (Treaty of 1848, art. 5; 9 Stat., 952.)

"(2) Menominee log fund. Interest, \$76,313.98 per annum. (Act of March 22, 1882; 22 Stat., 30; act of June 12, 1890; 26 Stat., 146.)

"(3) Osage fund. Interest, \$416,371.95 per annum. (Treaty of 1865, art. 2; 14 Stat., 687; act of July 15, 1870; 16 Stat., 362; act of June 16, 1880; 21 Stat., 292.)

"(4) Sioux \$3,000,000 fund. Interest, \$150,000 per annum. (Act of March 2, 1889; 25 Stat., 895.)"

The long memorandum (23 pages of typewriting) discussed the question substantially as follows:

It explained the history of educational work by the Government among the Indians before 1873, under an act of March 3, 1819, appropriating \$10,000 to be a permanent annual fund without reappropriation for the employment of teachers among the Indians. It explained the beginning of the contract system under President Grant, which had not existed under the act of 1819, and began after the act of 1870 appropriating \$100,000 for the support of Indian schools among Indian tribes not otherwise provided

for—*i. e.*, among tribes not having treaties containing stipulations providing funds for educational purposes. It showed the beginning of the general annual appropriations for Indian schools in 1876 "for the support of industrial schools and other educational purposes for the Indian tribes;" that this appropriation, gradually increasing in amount, has practically continued until the present time; it set forth the language of the current appropriations of public money for Indian day and industrial schools, and the declaration of Congress following adds a proviso to that language, *viz.*, that it is "the settled policy of the Government to hereafter make no appropriation whatever for education in any sectarian school," and a subsequent declaratory proviso in the appropriation act for 1899, *viz.*, "this being the final appropriation for sectarian schools," (30 Stats., 942.) It then took up the question of the effect of the declaration of Congress, as to which Senator Vest said in debate (Cong. Rec., vol. 31, 3074) :

"This drastic declaration in this bill declaring that Congress of the United States will not make any appropriation to a sectarian school of any denomination does not meet my concurrence."

It argued from the second declaration above quoted, and other things, that the word "appropriation" meant Congressional appropriation, and that what Congress declared was that Congress itself would not thereafter make appropriations to support sectarian schools, and not that the Secretary of the Interior was forbidden to "appropriate" funds for that purpose under pre-existing laws. It quoted the reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Mr. Morgan, of 1891 and 1892, to show that the evil complained of by the opponents of Government aid to sectarian schools was that "it is contrary to the letter and spirit of the Constitution of the United States and utterly repugnant to our American institutions and our American history to take from the public moneys funds for the support of sectarian institutions," and "that no moneys from the Public Treasury should be devoted to sectarian or church institutions." It confirmed this idea that it was the use of public moneys of the United States, or of the American people, that was objected to by quoting the language of the Indian appropriation act of 1894 (28 Stat. L., 311), and a report of Secretary Hoke Smith, of December 13, 1894 (H. Ex. Doc. No. 107, 53d Cong. 3d sess.), in which he said: "I agree fully with those who oppose the use of public money for the support of sectarian schools." It quoted the debates in Congress

(53d Cong., 3d sess.: Cong. Rec., vol. 27, pp. 994, 995, 1114, 2499, 2505, 2541, 2543, 2544; 54th Cong., 1st sess.: Cong. Rec., vol. 28, pp. 1983, 2080, 2082, 2084) to show that the intention of Congress was to reduce the regular appropriation of public funds so as to get rid of contract schools aided by that appropriation of money belonging to the American people. It further showed that in the case of the Osage schools and mission schools on the Sac and Fox reservations in Oklahoma Indian trust funds continued to be used and the contract system applied to them (Rept. Com. Ind. Aff. 1898, p. 17) after the declaration of Congress.

The argument of the memorandum briefly was that, notwithstanding the declaration of Congressional intent not to make appropriations in the future of public moneys of the American people for sectarian institutions, the previous laws giving the Secretary of the Interior discretion to use certain moneys of the Indians held in trust in any way that he might see fit, including assistance to sectarian schools, were not repealed, and consequently his discretion remained. (For some of these laws see 14 Stat., 687; 16 Stat., 362; 21 Stat., 292; 22 Stat., 30; 25 Stat., 895; 26 Stat., 146; *id.*, 344.)

This was the legal advice given to you as to your authority to continue the use of the interest on certain Indian trust funds. It appeared in the discussion that some of the Indian tribes desired such use of their own moneys, and various reasons were given to show the advantage of continuing to support certain existing sectarian schools on account of their efficient work or special beneficial influence, but with these considerations the Department of Justice was not especially concerned.

Respectfully,

W. H. Moody, Attorney-General.

The CHAIRMAN. That will go in the record?

Father KETCHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator TELLER. That was January a year ago?

Father KETCHAM. Yes, sir; in January.

Senator TELLER. Did you get any money before that time, except for these Osage schools?

Father KETCHAM. The Osage schools have always received appropriations.

Senator TELLER. Did they receive it by some action of their council?

Father KETCHAM. Their council has always favored it, and when the contracts were abolished, these schools were never discontinued.

Senator DUBOIS. That decision was never made public before now?

Father KETCHAM. Not that I know of.

Senator McCUMBER. As a matter of fact the law simply prohibits the use of public funds for sectarian school purposes.

Senator DUBOIS. I was trying to find out whether the Interior Department or the Commissioner of Indian Affairs was furnished with a copy of that opinion.

Father KETCHAM. The Secretary of the Interior was present. It states he was present. Secretaries Hitchcock, Cortelyou, and Wilson, the Postmaster-General Payne were present when this paper was read.

Senator TELLER. I suppose nobody would contend that they would have a right to take the tribal funds unless the tribe agreed to it. In the Osage case I think you will find the tribe agreed to it from the beginning. It was continued because the tribe wanted it continued.

Father KETCHAM. Let me explain in regard to that. When it came to the question of helping the schools, the Osage council had requested that their funds be used that way. In regard to the schools among the Quapaws, we have also the consent and request of the Quapaw council. In regard to the school among the Menominees, we have a petition signed by about two-thirds of the tribe. When it became a question of the Northern Cheyennes and the Sioux, I consulted the Indian Department as to what expression they wanted from the Indians. I was told that the consent of the Indians was unnecessary,

for the reason that these funds were to be used in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior for the benefit of the Indians; that they were used for the support of the Government schools of the Indians without consulting the Indians; that the fact of an Indian parent patronizing our schools might possibly be considered as consent to the use of such moneys; that the Sioux council was no longer recognized by the Government, and consequently had no legal weight whatever; that, however, they thought some expression should come from those interested, and consequently if the parents patronizing the schools would sign a petition to that effect it would be considered. Such petitions were sent in. We asked no others for their consent. I received an offer of several thousand names. The fact is, among the Sioux we have 8,000 Catholics. These Catholics meet once a year in the Sioux Catholic congress, which is attended by from four to six thousand Sioux, and one of these Indians came to me and asked me if they should pass a resolution petitioning for these funds, stating that that petition could be obtained at any time. I told him I thought not; we did not want to create a disturbance; that the parents interested in this affair had made a request, and we thought that sufficient. This was done simply to avoid disturbance.

Senator TELLER. What do you mean by disturbance? Some of the Indians you thought would object to it?

Father KETCHAM. I believe a good many of the Indians would have objected to it. They are not all Catholics. But the fact is, if we had no school on the Sioux Reservation the Sioux children would attend the Government school, and these children that are now being paid for in our school would be paid for in the Government school out of these funds.

Senator TELLER. I do not think they would be paid for out of these funds; they are paid for out of the funds we appropriate.

Father KETCHAM. I have a statement from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in regard to this matter.

Senator McCUMBER. Where this provision was made out of the tribal funds, upon the petition of certain Catholic Indians, was the amount charged up to those Indians or was it charged up to the entire tribe?

Father KETCHAM. It is a general fund.

Senator McCUMBER. It was taken out of the general fund, and therefore those who perhaps were of different denominations and who preferred to send their children to a different school were compelled to pay to send them to another sectarian school.

Father KETCHAM. They need not be compelled to pay if that other school would ask for the same thing.

Senator McCUMBER. But I say they were, under the conditions.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, if they got more than their proportion.

Senator McCUMBER. They took it out of the general fund and that reduced that general fund.

Senator TELLER. And the other people received no advantage from it.

Father KETCHAM. But that condition has been going on, regarding the Government schools and the Catholic schools, for years. The moneys for the Catholic Indians have been expended for the maintenance of Government schools.

Senator TELLER. Have you a letter from the Commissioner there? I would like to have you read it.

Father KETCHAM. We asked the question as to whether or not the agency employees of the agencies

among the Sioux, Menominees, and Osage tribes were paid out of the funds of these Indians. The answer to this was: "Agency employees at Green Bay and Osage agencies are paid out of Indian funds. Those for the Sioux are not."

We also asked whether or not the Government schools among those Indians are supported out of such funds.

The answer was: "Government schools among the Osages and Menominees are now supported out of Indian funds; those among the Sioux, only partially."

Senator TELLER. Who signed that?

Father KETCHAM. Mr. F. E. Leupp, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who is present. I will state that while it is said that those among the Sioux are only partially supported out of these funds, the Sioux Government school is not supported out of the general educational fund appropriated by Congress.

(The letter of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, referred to above, is as follows):

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Washington, January 27, 1905.

SIR: I have to acknowledge receipt of your communication of the 26th instant, propounding certain questions, and to answer as follows:

"First. Whether or not the agency employees of the agencies among the Sioux, Menominee, and Osage tribes are paid from the funds of those Indians?"

Answer. Agency employees at Green Bay and Osage agencies are paid out of Indian funds. Those for the Sioux are not.

"Second. Whether or not the Government schools among those Indians are supported out of such funds?"

Answer. Government schools among the Osages and Menominees are supported out of Indian funds. Those among the Sioux only partially.

"Third. Whether or not, when the 'contract system' was in force, the contract schools carried on by the various denominations among those Indians were supported from such funds?"

Answer. Prior to 1901 contract schools for the Osages were supported out of Indian funds. Those for the Sioux and Menominees were not.

Very respectfully, F. E. LEUPP, Commissioner.
Rev. W. H. KETCHAM,

Director Bureau Catholic Indian Missions, Washington, D. C.

We understood these moneys were to be expended for the benefit of the Indians, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior. I wish to show you in a statement here that by the contracts they have granted our schools among the Sioux and other tribes, the Indians, instead of losing money, are really gaining something in their general fund. The annual per capita allowance for the three Sioux schools, the Menominee school, and the Northern Cheyenne school for which the Catholic Church has contracts, is \$108; for the two Osage schools \$125, and for the Quapaw school \$50. Now, for 1903 (the latest year for which statistics have been published) the per capita cost of the Government boarding school on the Rosebud Reservation was \$199.05. So, if we abandon our schools, and these children were placed in the Government school, in place of paying \$108 per capita they would pay \$199.05.

On the Pine Ridge Reservation the per capita cost of the Government school is \$168.50; on the Crow Creek Reservation, \$194.91. This is an average of \$187.48, or \$79.48 in excess of the amount granted for the contract school. For the Government boarding school among the Osages the expense per capita was \$203.71, or \$78.71 greater than that received by the contract school. For the Government boarding school among the Menominees the expense was \$156.56, or \$58.56 greater than that allowed the contract school. At the present time there is no school conducted by the Government among the Quapaws, nor was there a Government school among the Northern Cheyennes in 1903. At the present time

there is a Government school among the Northern Cheyennes, but its capacity is not sufficient for all the children, as I will show in another statement. If the contract schools among the Sioux, Osages, and Menominees were discontinued, with the result that their 825 pupils would have to be cared for in the Government boarding schools, the cost to the Sioux Indians would be \$41,132.20, to the Osages \$11,029.40, and to the Menominees \$9,955.20 greater than it is now with the contracts in force. In addition, at a moderate estimate, an outlay of not less than \$200,000 of the funds of these tribes would be required for the erection and equipment of the necessary school buildings to accommodate the children now attending our schools.

Father Ketcham here presented to the committee the following statement:

COMPARATIVE COST OF "TRIBAL FUNDS" CONTRACT SCHOOLS AND
GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS.

The annual per capita allowance for the three Sioux schools, the Menominee school, and the Northern Cheyenne school is \$108; for the two Osage schools, \$125, and for the Quapaw school, \$50.

For 1903 (the latest year for which statistics have been published) the per capita cost of the Government boarding schools among the Sioux was:

Rosebud Reservation.....	\$ 199.05
Pine Ridge Reservation.....	168.50
Crow Creek Reservation.....	194.91

an average of \$187.48, or \$79.48 in excess of that granted for the contract school.

For the Government boarding school among the Osages, \$203.71, or \$78.71 greater than that received by the contract schools.

For the Government boarding school among the Menominees, \$166.56, or \$58.56 greater than that allowed the contract school.

There is no school conducted by the Government among the

Quapaws, nor was there a Government boarding school among the Northern Cheyennes in 1903.

If the contract schools among the Sioux, the Osages, and the Menominees were discontinued, with the result that their 825 pupils would have to be cared for in Government boarding schools, the cost to the Sioux Indians would be \$41,132.20, to the Osage Indians, \$11,029.40; and to the Menominee Indians, \$9,955.20 greater than it is now with the contracts in force.

In addition, at a moderate estimate, an outlay of not less than \$200,000 of the funds of these tribes would be required for the erection and equipment of necessary school buildings to accommodate the children now attending the contract schools.

Senator TELLER. That seems to be an attack upon the original proposition to discontinue the sectarian schools. I was one of those who, in the first instance, did not favor the discontinuance of the sectarian schools, because I did not believe at that time that the Government would make suitable arrangements for them, and I thought we had better continue them, and we did continue them, as you know, for a number of years.

Father KETCHAM. Five years.

Senator TELLER. While I was Secretary of the Interior I cheerfully acknowledged that your people did very excellent work. I do not think anybody would ever charge that I made any discrimination against them, although I am not a Catholic. I encouraged you and everybody else, in every way I could, to take all the children possible, and tried to get them all the money I could, but that question has been so absolutely settled, and so positively settled, that I do not think we need to go into consideration of it now. I think the only question now is the legal question which you have raised, whether there is any authority for the Secretary to do this, and then the other question as to whether in principle we have not declared that there shall be no sectarian system.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask, in this connection, is there any provision in the appropriation bill for these particular schools to be paid out of Government money, or is it to be paid from tribal funds?

Senator TELLER. I think there is, Mr. Stewart. I think you have some provision in here that would be construed that way. I will call attention to that later.

The CHAIRMAN. Where this money has been used for Catholic schools, is there in this appropriation bill for Government schools anything outside of the tribal fund? Are we appropriating Government money for these particular schools in those particular places?

Mr. LEUPP. Among the Sioux tribes we are contributing from our general fund for the support of the Government schools to meet those expenses which are not met from the Indians' own money.

Senator McCUMBER. Is there not a distinction between that—I speak of it because Father Ketcham referred to it in the statement in which he says that the Catholic population gave a portion of their funds—tribal funds—for the support of the Government schools; but the Government schools, it must be remembered, are not sectarian in any way, but purely public schools? Now, it seems to me, there could be nothing wrong in allowing the individual Indian, Catholic or Protestant, to say that a portion of the tribal funds, or a portion of that portion which would belong to him, should be used in the education of his children in the particular school to which he would desire to send them; but it would seem to me to be unjust to compel the Catholic Indian to pay for sending his children to a Lutheran school, or a Lutheran parent for sending his children to a Catholic school, if he did not wish to do so.

Father KETCHAM. Senator, I made this statement not to bring up a question that has already been settled, but to show that an injustice has been perpetrated upon the Indians in question and upon us. Because the Indian must pay for the education of his children if he sends them to a Government school, while if he sends them to our school we have to pay for it. If we had no schools, and the Government educated his children, I have shown here that there would be an additional expense to the Sioux Nation of \$41,132.20.

Senator McCUMBER. Suppose, now, that it is better and cheaper, yet it seems to me that instead of the money which is paid out for educating children in the sectarian schools being charged up to the tribe, it ought to be charged to the individual who sends his children to the school.

Father KETCHAM. I believe that myself, but since the funds are not individualized it is difficult to see how it could be done.

Senator McCUMBER. It could be regarded as individualized when it is diverted and paid to a certain school.

Senator TELLER. If the Secretary has the right to use the money, he certainly has the right to individualize it and charge it to the proper party.

Senator DUBOIS. Mr. Leupp, I notice here we are providing for the education of 150 pupils at Pierre, S. D., and other items, and somewhere in here we appropriate \$1,300,000 for schools. Now, that \$1,300,000 is for school purposes outside of this specific appropriation. Does that \$1,300,000 and the specific items cover all the moneys appropriated by us for schools?

Mr. LEUPP. Where the law does not forbid, we sometimes have to draw on that general fund to make up a deficiency for some particular place. For instance, where

there is an unexpected increase in the school population in one particular district which we have insufficiently provided for.

Senator TELLER. You get an appropriation for 200 people and you find you have 225.

Mr. LEUPP. Then we have to call on the general fund.

Senator DUBOIS. That is the \$1,300,000?

Mr. LEUPP. Yes, sir.

Senator DUBOIS. But does not the \$1,300,000 and the specific appropriations cover all the money that is to be used for school purposes?

Mr. LEUPP. Yes, sir; taking all the specific appropriations—including those for civilization and support.

Senator DUBOIS. Is it not the aim that these specific appropriations and this general appropriation shall cover the entire school system?

Mr. LEUPP. Yes, sir.

Father KETCHAM. Is it not a fact that some of these appropriations are made in fulfillment of treaty stipulations in regard to the Indians? I think there is a little distinction there, between that and the general educational fund.

Senator DUBOIS. The point I wanted cleared up is whether we covered the whole thing in this bill?

The CHAIRMAN. There is a long list of appropriations that go to the Indian tribes.

Senator TELLER. That is not very much for Indian purposes. Mr. Commissioner, what is the sum total of the expenditure each year?

Mr. LEUPP. I have not even the approximate figures in my mind.

Father KETCHAM. I beg leave to submit another paper, on account of certain remarks that were made here the other day by a gentleman who opposed this measure.

I would not have brought it up otherwise, but I think it is proper to make a counter statement. It was stated here that there is no need for these schools; that there is plenty of school accommodations for these children in Government schools. I wish to make this statement, which is taken from the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and which ought to be correct:

STATEMENT SHOWING CHILDREN OF SCHOOL AGE AND CAPACITY OF
GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS AMONG INDIAN TRIBES AMONG WHICH
"TRIBAL FUNDS" CONTRACT SCHOOLS ARE LOCATED.

From the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1902, page 43, it appears that the total school population of South Dakota Sioux Indians is 4,803, while the Government school capacity is 3,487, leaving a deficiency in Government school accommodations of 1,316.

The school population of the Menominee tribe is 345, while the Government school capacity in 1904 was 140, leaving a deficiency of 205; but lately the only Government school among this tribe was destroyed by fire, so that at this time there is no Government school for the Menominee Indians.

Senator TELLER. Have you a school there?

Father KETCHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator TELLER. What is your capacity?

Father KETCHAM. I am not able to tell you that, except from this contract. We have a contract there for 170 pupils.

According to the report of the agent of the Osage Indians for 1902 (p. 294 of the Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1903) the combined capacity of the Government and mission schools was sufficient to provide for all the school children of that tribe, but without the mission schools the school facilities would be reduced nearly one-half.

The school population of Tongue River Agency is 187, while the Government school capacity is 90, leaving a deficiency of 97.

From the report of the school superintendent in charge of the Quapaw Agency for 1902 (p. 188 of Report of Commissioner of

Indian Affairs for 1902), it is apparent that the Government school facilities are not sufficient to provide for all the Quapaw children of school age.

Now, Senators, the Catholic Church at the present time is educating over 6,000 Indian children—6,050. We have been doing this right along at our expense until last year—except in the case of the two Osage schools.

Senator TELLER. Is that the first aid you had outside of the Osages?

Father KETCHAM. Yes, sir. The burden that we are bearing is a very heavy one. The church is expending not less than \$200,000 a year in this work—money that is collected from the people; some of it is given by one or two wealthy persons, but at least the half of it is collected from the very poor of our people. The burden is a very heavy one. We think it is only a matter of justice that funds of this kind might be used to help out in this work. We have undertaken the work, and from the Commissioner's report it is evident that if we should give up these 6,000 children there would not be school accommodations for them. For instance, it is stated in this table, in the Commissioner's report for 1902, page 43, that the total capacity of Government schools is 22,518, while the number of school children is 43,905, and the possible enrollment is 35,115, showing an excess of children over capacity of 10,665.

It seems to me that in view of the fact that we have made such strenuous efforts to co-operate with the Government in this work the action which the President has taken in allowing the use of these funds should be accepted as a just and fair policy. I would most earnestly beg the gentlemen of this committee not to place in this bill any item which will render this action invalid in the future. I appeal to you in the name of 12,000,000 of

your Catholic fellow-countrymen, in the name of the Catholic Indians of this country, in the name of fair-minded people of all religions or of no religion at all. We feel that your seal of disapprobation should not be placed upon our work, but that rather that any encouragement that could possibly be given us should be afforded. The church has nothing to gain from a material point of view from this work among the Indians. Every year she is sinking treasure and spending lives in this work from the highest motives of religion and philanthropy. She is endeavoring to extend the benefits of civilization to a people who must perish from the earth, who can only leave a trace behind them, and who can never be of any material benefit to the church. I beg of you to rather grant encouragement than discouragement. What we have asked for ourselves we wish all others to have. As Director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions I have always tried to work in harmony with the people of other denominations and religions. Mr. Leupp, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who is present, and others, can state that even this year I have earnestly co-operated with the Methodist minister who is here representing the churches of the Indian Territory trying to secure prohibition for the Indians.

Senator TELLER. Mr. Sweet?

Father KETCHAM. Yes, sir. On many occasions Mr. Brosius has come to me to ask for my co-operation in regard to certain measures intended for the benefit of the Indians. And it has always been cheerfully given, and when Bishop Hare asked for the rations, although he said nothing to us, we also did what we could to secure the rations for the children. Now, when a measure comes before the country that affects the Catholic missions, as this measure does, we feel surprised and, of course, more

or less hurt, that these people have formed themselves into an opposition. What we are asking the Lutheran Church has already taken advantage of, and the other churches could have taken advantage of it if they had wanted to do so, and no Catholic Indian would ever have protested against it.

Senator TELLER. You refer entirely to the use of these trust funds?

Father KETCHAM. Yes, sir. I am not asking for appropriations.

Senator TELLER. Now, Father Ketcham, it seems to me that we are just up to this question: This is a doubtful question of law, and I think everybody will admit that we have either got to interdict the use of this money or provide how it shall be used. Would you think it would be wise for us to open up that question? Suppose that we should say that the Secretary may, under some regulations that we may make, use these trust funds. Would it not open up a discussion and excitement that would not be healthful and profitable to the Indian or to anybody else? In other words, is it not better for you to forego that much, under the present condition of the public mind, than it is that we should attempt to give you the legal right. If we should attempt to authorize you to do this, it would bring up discussion in the Senate and all over the country that might not be very healthful—I do not know.

Father KETCHAM. I am not asking, Senator, that the Senate take any action on the matter. I am really asking that no action be taken.

Senator McCUMBER. It seems to me that we could meet the question by allowing any Catholic Indian to petition that the portion of the tribal funds which belongs to him might be used for the education of his children.

Senator DUBOIS. In view of what Father Ketcham has told us this is, of course, a very important question. Naturally, Father Ketcham wants his church put right and he wants publicity. Now, the Department should also be heard and I don't think this is a question for our subcommittee. I think it is of such importance now that the full committee should hear what has been said on this question, because it does not belong to us.

Senator TELLER. Bishop Hare's letter is going to create a great deal of feeling.

Senator McCUMBER. This matter all goes to the general committee.

Senator DUBOIS. They ought to hear the statements.

Father KETCHAM. One thing I want to request and that is, that the statement I have made be given publicity, in view of the fact that the statements of those who come here opposing us have received publicity.

Senator DUBOIS. It is only fair to you that it should be given publicity.

The CHAIRMAN. Has any other denomination asked for this?

Mr. LEUPP. Bishop Hare appealed, I think, two years ago for rations, but not for this.

The CHAIRMAN. He was a most active party in appealing for rations.

Mr. LEUPP. The reason of that in his case and several others is that when Congress passed this interdiction of the use of public moneys for parochial schools or denominational schools most of the other churches either turned over their property to the Government by sale or by gift or closed their schools or, in a very few instances, made arrangements to continue on their own responsibility. The Catholic Church, as a rule, maintained their schools and their missions at their own expense until recently. Now,

if the sub-committee will allow me to ask Father Ketcham a question, I should like to bring out one point. Would you, Father Ketcham, or would your church object to legislation which would individualize these Indian funds—open an account with each individual Indian instead of keeping these sums in a lump, and then allow each individual Indian to say how his money shall be spent for the education of his children?

Father KETCHAM. I have no objection to that, Mr. Commissioner.

Mr. LEUPP. That would be a very fair solution.

The CHAIRMAN. Would that satisfy Bishop Hare?

Mr. LEUPP. Entirely.

Senator TELLER. He has already disposed of his buildings and he will probably not want to go back.

Father KETCHAM. He discontinued two schools, but the Catholic Church has never discontinued any reservation boarding schools because of the withdrawal of Government support. There are more children in our schools now than at the time the contracts were abolished, and besides several other schools have been built. And, notwithstanding the fact that statements have been made that the Government has room to provide for these children, the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs does not make this apparent. I think I am not making a mistake when I say that if we discontinued our schools, the children would not be provided for.

Mr. LEUPP. There, I feel, Senators, that a word should be put in as to what this Indian school population consists of. It is always estimated in the office and is not positively given. It is estimated by taking the number of Indians in a certain tribe and then figuring such and such a percentage as probably of school age; that is, between the ages of 5 and 18.

Senator DUBOIS. As a matter of fact, Mr. Commissioner, does not the Government always respond when you ask for money for school purposes?

Mr. LEUPP. I believe it always has.

Senator DUBOIS. The Government is willing at all times to provide facilities for Indian children if you point out where needed.

Senator McCUMBER. This bill provides for the erection of several new school buildings.

Mr. LEUPP. I think we could take care of these children.

Senator TELLER. When these sectarian schools were discontinued by a gradual process during five years, it was thought that the Government by that time would be ready to take care of all of the children, and I supposed we were practically doing so except these people whom I knew would not want to go to the Government school but would prefer to go to a Catholic school, just as thousands of whites do. Public schools are furnished and parochial schools get the children, and the parents pay for it.

Mr. LEUPP. This plan of individualizing the funds, Senator, will give every Indian a chance to say what he wishes done with his money and no question could arise thereafter as to the Government's handling of this money.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give that some attention?

Mr. LEUPP. This bill, which Mr. Lacey introduced in the House, covers that point.

[H. R. 18516. Fifty-eighth Congress, third session.]
A BILL providing for the allotment and distribution of Indian tribal funds.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President is hereby authorized, in his discretion, from time to time, to designate such Indian tribe or tribes whose members he may deem to be sufficiently advanced in civilization to be prepared to

receive and manage, or who in the near future will in his judgment be prepared to receive and manage their individual shares of the tribal funds then or thereafter on deposit in the Treasury of the United States to the credit of such tribe or tribes; and thereupon shall cause the money held in trust for such tribe or tribes in the Treasury to be allotted in severalty to the members thereof. That thereupon a roll of such individuals in such tribe or tribes shall be made by the Secretary of the Interior, and the funds apportioned and credited in severalty to the individuals entitled thereto and placed to the credit of such individuals upon the books of the United States Treasury?

SEC. 2. That the President may, by Executive order, from time to time, order the distribution and payment of such funds or the interest accruing thereon to the individual members of any such tribe or tribes where, in his judgment, it may be for the best interests of such individuals to have such distribution made.

SEC. 3. That the President shall, by Executive order, prescribe rules and regulations to carry out the purposes of this act. Such regulations may also provide the method and proceedings for the distribution of the share of any allottee who may die before payment and after such allotment on the books of the Treasury Department.

Senator TELLER. I want to ask the Commissioner now what order has been made in the Department? Have you looked that up to find out about this change of policy?

Mr. LEUPP. There is not so much as the scratch of a pen in my office.

Senator TELLER. A gentleman who I think ought to know, not connected with the office, says he thinks there is a card or something from the President under which the action took place. You think there is not?

Mr. LEUPP. I am quite sure; I can make the assertion absolutely.

Senator TELLER. Have you anything in your office to show this conference at the White House?

Mr. LEUPP. No, sir; I gave to the House the other day, in response to a resolution of inquiry, all the records

that we have, which are simply Mr. Jones's recommendations to the Secretary and the Secretary's action.

Senator TELLER. That is public, is it?

Mr. LEUPP. Yes, sir; that is a House document.

[House Document, No. 249, Fifty-eighth Congress, third session.]

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,

Washington, January 21, 1905.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of House resolution, dated January 11, 1905, in the following words:

"Resolved, That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby directed to inform the House of Representatives whether or not any of the principal or interest of any Indian trust funds or other moneys of any Indian tribe are being expended, or have been authorized to be expended, for support of any Indian contract schools other than Government schools; and if any of said funds are being so expended, or the expenditure authorized by his Department, to state for what purpose authorized, the amount thereof, the authority for making such expenditure, and whether or not the consent of the Indians interested has been first secured therefor, covering the period since January first, nineteen hundred and three."

In response, I transmit herewith a copy of a report from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated 17th instant, with its inclosures, which contains the information called for by the said resolution.

Very respectfully,

E. A. HITCHCOCK,
Secretary.

THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,

Washington, January 17, 1905.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt, by your reference of January 10, of House resolution, dated January 10, 1905, calling for data relative to the use of Indian trust funds for the support of contract schools.

This resolution desires information whether or not any of the principal or interest of any Indian trust funds or other moneys of any Indian tribe are being expended, or have been authorized to be expended, for support of any Indian contract schools

other than Government schools; and if any of said funds are being so expended, or the expenditure thereof is authorized by the Department, also a statement showing for what purpose authorized, the amount thereof, the authority for making such expenditure, and whether or not the consent of the Indians interested has been first secured therefor, covering the period since January 1, 1903.

In reply I have the honor to report as follows:

Contracts were made with mission schools other than Government schools for the fiscal year 1904, as herewith presented:

Name of school.	Contracting party.	Tribe.	Number of pupils.	Rate per capita.	Total amount of contract.
St. Louis Boarding....	Bureau Catholic Indian Missions.	Osage ...	24	\$125	\$1,500.00
St. John's Boarding....	.....do .....	..do	21	125	1,312.50
St. Louis Boarding....	.....do .....	..do	75	125	4,687.05
St. John's Boarding....	.....do .....	..do	65	125	4,062.50

In explanation of the above, it is stated that two contracts each were made with the above-named schools, the first dated July 1, 1903, and the second January 1, 1904, increasing the number of pupils.

The following contracts were made for the current fiscal year 1905, and are dated July 1, 1904:

Name of school.	Contracting party.	Tribe.	Number of pupils.	Rate per capita.	Total amount
Zoar Boarding.....	Board Lutheran Indian Missions.	Menominee	40	\$108	\$4,320.00
St. Joseph's Boarding..	Bureau Catholic Indian Missions.	..do	170	108	18,360.00
St. Louis Boarding....	.....do	Osage	75	125	9,375.00
St. John's Boarding....	.....do .....	.....do ...	65	125	8,125.00
Immaculate Conception	.....do	Sioux	65	108	7,020.00
Holy Rosary Boarding..	.....do .....	..do	200	108	21,600.00
St. Francis Boarding...	.....do .....	..do	250	108	27,000.00
St. Labre's Boarding...	.....do	Northern Cheyenne	60	108	6,480.00
St. Mary's Boarding...	.....do	Quapaw...	10	50	500.00

In reply to the question, "if any of said funds are being so expended, or the expenditure authorized by his (your) Department, to state for what purpose authorized," my answer is in the

above table, it being for the education of certain Indian pupils in the schools enumerated, the amount of each contract being given.

Replying to the question asking the "authority for making such expenditure," I would respectively advise you that these contracts were made by my immediate predecessor in office, and by him forwarded for approval to the Department without any statement relative to the authority under which such recommendation was made. Each of these contracts was approved by the Department.

In reply to the question "whether or not the consent of the Indians interested has first been secured therefor," I would respectfully state that the records of this Office disclose that petitions were filed by the contracting parties from a number of Indians at the reservations where contracts were requested to be executed.

The records of the Office show that the contracts for the Zoar boarding and St. Joseph's schools at Green Bay Agency are paid from "Interest on Menominee log fund;" for the St. Louis and St. John's schools, Osage Agency, from "Fulfilling treaties with Osages," "Interest on Osage school fund," and "Interest on Osage fund;" for Immaculate Conception, Holy Rosary, and St. Francis schools, Sioux agencies, from "Education, Sioux Nation;" for St. Labre's School, Tongue River Reservation, Northern Cheyenne Agency, from "Indian school support," and for St. Mary's School, Quapaw Agency, from "Support of Quapaws, education." The above are the technical forms under which the several funds used are carried on the books of this Office.

There are inclosed herewith copies of office communications transmitting said contracts for approval. The House resolution is also herewith returned.

Very respectfully,

F. E. LEUPP,
Commissioner.

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Washington, August 20, 1903.

SIR: I have the honor to inclose herewith contract between this Office and Sister Mary Gerard, superintendent of the St. Louis Boarding School, Osage Agency, Okla., for the care and

education of 24 Osage Indian pupils in the said school during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1904.

I respectfully request approval of the inclosed contract.

Very respectfully,

W. A. JONES,
Commissioner.

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.

Washington, August 28, 1903.

SIR: I have the honor to inclose herewith contract between this office and Sister Mary Angelica, superintendent of St. John's Boarding School, Osage Agency, Okla., for the care and education of 21 Osage Indian pupils in the said school during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1904.

I respectfully request approval of the inclosed contract.

Very respectfully,

W. A. JONES,
Commissioner.

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

Washington, February 20, 1904.

SIR: I have the honor to inclose herewith contracts between this office and the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions for six months of the current fiscal year, commencing January 1, 1904, as follows:

St. Louis Boarding School, Osage Agency, Okla., for 75 Osage pupils at the rate of \$125 per capita per annum.

St. John's Boarding School, Osage Agency, Okla., for 65 Osage pupils at \$125 per capita per annum.

St. Joseph's Industrial School, Green Bay Agency, Wis., for 170 Menominee Indian pupils at the rate of \$108 per capita per annum.

I respectfully request approval of the inclosed contracts.

Very respectfully,

W. A. JONES,
Commissioner.

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

Washington, August 13, 1904.

SIR: I have the honor to inclose herewith the contract between this office and the Board of Lutheran Indian Missions, Red

Springs, Shawano County, Wis., for the care and education of 40 Menominee Indian children in the Zoar Indian Mission Boarding School, Menominee Reservation, Wis., during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905.

I respectfully request approval of the inclosed contract, payments to be made under this contract from the Menominee logging fund.

Very respectfully,

W. A. JONES,
Commissioner.

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

Washington, August 17, 1904.

SIR: I have the honor to inclose contracts between this Office and the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, for the care and education of Indian pupils, as follows:

Holy Rosary Mission Boarding School, Pine Ridge Agency, S. Dak., for 200 Sioux Indian pupils.

Immaculate Conception Mission Boarding School, Crow Creek Agency, S. Dak., for 65 Sioux Indian pupils.

St. Francis Mission Boarding School, Rosebud Agency, S. Dak., for 250 Sioux Indian pupils.

St. Louis Boarding School, Osage Agency, Okla., for 75 Osage Indian pupils.

St. Joseph's Industrial School, Menominee Reservation, Wis., for 170 Menominee Indian pupils.

St. John's Boarding School, Osage Agency, Okla., for 65 Osage Indian pupils.

St. Labre's Mission Boarding School, Tongue River Reservation, Mont., for 60 Northern Cheyenne Indian pupils.

It will be observed that payments under these contracts will be made in each case from the treaty funds of the tribe at which the school is located.

I respectfully request approval of the inclosed contracts.

Very respectfully,

W. A. JONES,
Commissioner.

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

Washington, October 29, 1904.

SIR: I have the honor to inclose herewith contract between this Office and the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions for the care and education of 10 Quapaw Indian children in the St. Mary's Boarding School, Quapaw Reservation, Ind. T., during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, at \$50 each per annum.

Payments to be made under this contract from the treaty funds of the Quapaw tribe.

I respectfully request the approval of the inclosed contract.

Very respectfully,

A. C. TONNER,
Acting Commissioner.

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

Senator DUBOIS. That letter of the Attorney-General after that conference seems to me should have been filed in the Indian Office.

Senator TELLER. It is unfortunate it was not. It gives the appearance as if this thing were done under cover and that the public was not to know about it. And those things are always unfortunate even if they are right. However defensible it may be, it was done quietly as if we did not want the public to know about it.

Father KETCHAM. The Senator will appreciate, of course, that I am not responsible for that feature.

Senator TELLER. I am holding the Government officials responsible, not you.

Senator DUBOIS. It ran through my mind that if that had been made a part of the record no other denomination could have taken advantage of it.

Father KETCHAM. I would like to state that the reported strife among the Sioux—I think there is report of contention among the Sioux only—has been stirred up by interested parties. Catholic Indians have been approached on the subject, and the whole matter has been

misrepresented to them by catechists and others who have gone to them.

Senator TELLER. I have a petition on my desk this morning from the Pine Ridge Agency. I looked at it and simply laid it on my desk to present to the Senate. It is a petition to the Senate which I will have referred to the committee of course. So, you see there is a good deal of consideration to be given to this matter, and I think Bishop Hare's letter is likely to create a good deal of feeling. Bishop Hare has been known as really a very ardent advocate of Indian education. He has not always, I think, been the wisest of men, but he has certainly been as zealous as any in the country, and on the whole a very faithful man in that respect.

Father KETCHAM. I have no reflection to make on Bishop Hare at all. I think, however, that consideration should be given to the parties on the other side who have done not less than Bishop Hare or his people. The whole question appears to be misunderstood on the Sioux Reservation. They continually refer to this as an appropriation, and it has been represented to the Indians that we are squandering their money. It is apparent that the question is not clearly understood from the remarks made here by Mr. Brosius and others and by the printed reports that I have seen. I think myself if this matter had appeared sooner, there would not have been so much misunderstanding on the subject.

Senator DUBOIS. It rather occurs to me that if that letter had been made public there would not have been any bother about it.

Father KETCHAM. I think it comes from a misunderstanding. I wish also to make this one remark, not that I am protesting against the school, because I look upon it as one of the best Indian schools in the United States,

but I call attention to the appropriation made annually for Hampton school in spite of the settled policy of the Government, although the Commissioner of Indian Affairs has for several years pointed out the fact that it is a religious school not under the supervision of the United States, but run privately. No exception, however, seems to have been taken by the public to an appropriation of this kind.

Senator TELLER. That is a public appropriation; everybody has known of it, and it is defended on the ground that that school is different from every other, in that they are educating negroes.

Senator McCUMBER. I do not understand on what ground that could be justified. It is a sectarian school.

Senator TELLER. I do not think it is a sectarian school in that sense of the term.

Mr. LEUPP. There are Catholic instructors there, Senator.

Father KETCHAM. The school is a religious school, and not a Government school.

Senator TELLER. No; it is not a Government school; but the Government aids it and has aided it for the last thirty years.

Father KETCHAM. I am not objecting to it, but the public never seems to have objected to this, and we feel there is a tendency to discriminate against our work, not so much among the legislators of the country as among certain portions of the public.

Senator TELLER. I do not think you can make any complaint as a church organization that there has been any discredit thrown on you or anything refused you that has been given to any other denomination. You have been treated, in my opinion, as well as any other class of Christian people in the United States. I do not say

that you have had more than you deserve, but I do not think that you have any reason to complain.

The CHAIRMAN. There has been no suggestion in any of the debates that the Catholic work among these Indians has not been a good work.

Senator TELLER. It has been a good work.

The CHAIRMAN. The very best work. They have facilities for doing better work than other churches, because they have devoted Catholics that work for nothing and no other church can furnish the kind of people that will spend their lives among the heathen just for the sake of it to the extent that the Catholics do.

Senator TELLER. I do not know, myself, from practical observation just what religious instruction these Government schools give, or whether any at all.

The CHAIRMAN. They are supposed not to give any.

Senator McCUMBER. Is that true of this school down here at Hampton?

Father KETCHAM. I do not know that it is of any particular denomination, but it is a religious school. They have always reported their religious work until within the last few years—until the appropriations were discontinued. In their reports the religious work is all set forth. Objection was made in the Senate, but not sustained. I do not wish to offer any opposition.

Senator TELLER. I do not blame you for calling it a sectarian school. I taught school a good many years, when I did not have but one room and one set of students, and I read the Bible to them every morning, and I never believed there was any objection to doing so in any school, although they now think it is objectionable for a man or woman to read the Bible in a public school. But that is a piece of nonsense that I do not fall in with.

Senator DUBOIS. I was here in the Senate when this

old debate was had, and I thought that we had settled this question.

Senator McCUMBER. If we have not done so, we should do so.

Senator DUBOIS. That was my clear understanding of it.

Mr. LEUPP. May I ask one further question?

The CHAIRMAN. There is a meeting of the District of Columbia Committee, and they want me for a few moments. You may go on during my absence.

Mr. LEUPP. I wanted to ask Father Ketcham if, in the Catholic schools, which are getting this allotment from treaty funds, they would permit Protestant teachers with the same freedom the Protestant organization of Hampton School permits Catholic teachers in there? That is where I would draw the distinction.

Father KETCHAM. In some of our schools there are teachers who are not Catholics. That is a fact. But it is very difficult to get teachers who are not Catholics to teach on the small salaries that we pay in our schools. In fact, in our religious institutions we pay no salary whatever, and for that reason we could not expect to get teachers, but we have in our schools in the East instructors who are not Catholics.

Senator TELLER. In these Catholic schools you teach what you call Catholicism—the Catholic religion?

Father KETCHAM. We do, of course.

Senator TELLER. That is what you have them for—to give religious instruction to these Indians in the line which you think is best, so these are certainly sectarian schools.

Father KETCHAM. But, at the same time, Senator, it has never been made a condition for admission to any of

our schools supported by public moneys that these children either study the catechism or become Catholics.

Senator TELLER. You have opened a great many schools where you do not require them to become Catholics, but they do, and you do not object to it.

Father KETCHAM. In the Government schools many children enter Catholics and leave Protestants. That is also a fact that can be borne out. I can make a statement showing it is a fact—quite often.

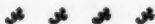
Senator TELLER. They are more likely, Father Ketcham, to leave without any religious ideas at all.

Father KETCHAM. They often do. But I have received within the last few months complaints from priests concerning Catholic children who have been received in Protestant churches in various Government schools. The services in these schools are carried on by one minister or another, but if a school itself has a service which is called a non-sectarian service it certainly is not a Catholic service.

Senator TELLER. I think all of the non-sectarian, Baptist, Methodist, or Presbyterian schools are apt to be considered as sectarian schools.

Father KETCHAM. I do not admit nor deny that.

Church and State in France



THE NEW GOVERNMENT SEPARATION BILL.

The Bill for effecting the separation of Church and State in France has been drafted and presented to the Chamber of Deputies. It is but one of a series of measures, and it yet remains to be seen what will become of it; whether it will pass through the ordeal of Parliament and become law, or will perish still-born like the Bills that have preceded it. The scheme for disestablishment drafted by M. Briand, and supported by the Parliamentary Commission, was afterwards superseded by another drafted by M. Combes. Those two measures are now dead, but owing to persistent fanning by the sectaries of the Left the present Bill has flickered up suddenly from their ashes. When M. Rouvier succeeded to power last month, the world was led to expect that the question of separation had been relegated to the middle distance, if not to the far horizon; but the imperious demands of the anti-religious extremists have been too loud and too strong for the new Premier to stand to his determination, and so we have a new Bill hurriedly prepared by M. Bienvenu-Martin, his Minister of Worship, and grounded on a pretext—that separation had been rendered inevitable by the action of the Vatican—which M. Ribot passionately denounced as a “historic lie.” But there the Bill lies, and for some time at least, will have to be reckoned with as the proposal upon which the responsible

Government of the day intends to invite the immediate opinion of the Chambers. The following is a full translation of its text:

It will be seen that it is based very largely upon the Bill of M. Briand, and that it also betrays something of the spirit of the discredited M. Combes. Its main divergences from the measure proposed by the latter are easily stated. M. Combes would have kept the direction of Worship; M. Bienvenu-Martin does away with it. M. Combes would have forbidden outdoor processions absolutely; M. Bienvenu-Martin leaves it to the Mayors to allow them. M. Combes would have limited the inheriting of the property of the *fabriques* by parochial associations to the proportion of their necessities; but M. Bienvenu-Martin will have none of this restriction, though he persists in demanding for the State some of the funds which are certainly the property of the Church. Thus one may say that the new Bill is less shabby and paltry than its immediate predecessor. But if it lacks the bitterness of the renegade it still betrays the spirit of the sectary, and even if it should pass as it stands—a large hypothesis—it is still to be seen how it may be modified and aggravated by the regulations for its administration which are to come within three months of its being made law. The dispositions made in regard to the future of the cathedrals and churches will scarcely recommend themselves to any fair-minded or religious person, or to those who have care or sense of historical fitness. For two years these buildings, many of them venerable by their antiquity and sacred for their association with great personages and events in the long past of the religious history of the country, must be granted free to the associations to be formed for the maintenance of worship; then for a decade of years they must be let to the asso-

ciations at a rental. But after that time they may go to the highest bidder or to any purpose or party to which the ruling power of the day, in the State or the communes, may think fit to hand them. That means that we may have a repetition of the unholy orgies of the days of the Terror, when the shameless embodiment of the goddess of reason was set up on the altars of God. Meanwhile, it would be a mistake to suppose that the delay of twelve years before such an awful fate can befall the temples of the nation is granted out of consideration for religion, so much as to smooth the way of the Government. The instant closing of the churches would revolt the feelings of the people and arouse a clamor that would quickly empty the Palais Bourbon of its noisy intolerants. Of necessity, therefore, the descent to Avernus had to be made as easy and as little noticeable as possible. On one important point it differs considerably from the Bills of M. Briand and M. Combes, which, on the question of the federation of the associations created for the exercise of worship, stood at the two poles of tolerance and intolerance. M. Briand would have allowed the parochial and diocesan associations of each denomination to have combined in a national federation. This was too much for those who wished to fetter and strangle the Church's power for action, and the old cry of the country being in danger was again raised. M. Combes, with that ready obedience which he ever showed where it was a question of doing what he was told by his political masters for the detriment of religion, flung national federation aside and limited the combination of the associations to a department. This would, on the one hand, have condemned each Catholic diocese to isolated action, and would, on the other, have been the ruin of the Jews and the Protestants. These latter entered a vehement protest against

any such fatal restriction, and the result is seen in the measure now before the Chamber. M. Bienvenu-Martin, taking a middle course between the plans of M. Briand and M. Combes, now proposes to allow the associations of as many as ten departments to join forces in a federation which shall have a juridical capacity, whilst unions over a still wider extent of territory may be formed, the administrative of which, though not enjoying the recognition of the law, will be at least tolerated by the Government.

So far the new scheme is an improvement on that of M. Combes, but that is not to say that it is an honest or liberal measure. Had it been so it would not have received the welcome accorded to it in the Radical and Socialist press. On the other hand the Moderate press has not been sparing in its condemnation of the light-heartedness and haste with which the Government has made its leap and of the illiberal and unworthy restrictions with which the measure abounds. "Whatever one may say," writes the *Temps*, "separation is a leap into the unknown, and may become the starting point of an era of numberless difficulties and dangerous discontent for the Republic. The last elections were so little in favor of separation that M. Combes, on assuming power at the beginning of the legislature, declared definitely in favor of the maintenance of the Concordat. It was only after two years that he rallied to separation: is it certain that universal suffrage has changed its opinion as he did? At the sitting which brought about his downfall he was so little sure of his case that he accepted an order of the day in which separation was not even mentioned. And now he is pleased to force on his successors a reform full of terrible inquietude which he himself failed to carry and even opposed for the first two years of

his being in office." And the day after, the same journal, after pointing out the grave responsibility undertaken by the Government and the Chamber in determining to resolve such a question without waiting to consult the country, speaks significantly as follows: "It is absolutely necessary that everything should be clear; there must be no surprises. It would be unworthy of the Republic to re-establish religious persecution in our country on the sly. And it would be above all dangerous; for in our days history travels quickly: persecution and injustice demand speedy and heavy payment." That feeling was in the mind of the Abbé Gayraud when, in the Chamber on Friday, he declared that he dreaded separation less in the interests of the Church than of France. Real separation, carried out thoughtfully, justly, and liberally he would be ready to vote; but a measure that would despoil the Church of her rights, hamper her means of action, and place her ministers at the mercy of the fanatics opposed to her and under a *régime* of inquisition he would oppose to the end.

PREAMBLE.

The separation of Church and State is one of the essential reforms for the realization of which the Government, by its declaration of January 27 last, has pledged itself to devote its efforts.

Faithful to its promises it now presents to you a Bill which lays down the conditions under which, in its opinion, separation ought to be carried out.

In the drafting of this Bill we have kept as close as we could to the provisions that had been adopted by the Commission of the Chamber entrusted with the examination of different measures bearing upon the same subject.

We desire, as does the Commission, to guarantee the free exercise of worship; and that liberty ought to be under no other restrictions than those imposed by the interests of public order.

The text which we present to you is the embodiment of this twofold principle.

At the same time it sets forth a number of measures which are intended to smooth the passage from the old *régime* to the new.

Such is the object of the Articles which regulate the devolution of the property of the suppressed ecclesiastical establishments, the placing of religious buildings at the disposal of the Associations for worship and the pensions to ministers of religion.

Under these circumstances we hope that Parliament will not hesitate to give us its assistance in the carrying out of a reform which cannot be delayed and which the Government is genuinely anxious to see accomplished.

CHAPTER I.

PRINCIPLES.

Article 1.—The state neither recognizes nor salaries any form of worship. The public establishments of worship now recognized are suppressed under reserve of the dispositions set forth in Article 3. Similarly, there will be struck out of the Budgets of the State, of the Departments, and of the Communes, from the first of January following the promulgation of the present Law, all expenses connected with the exercise of worship.

Article 2.—The exercise of worship is free under the restrictions set forth hereafter in the interest of public order.

CHAPTER II.

DEVOLUTION OF PROPERTY BELONGING TO THE ESTABLISHMENTS OF RELIGION. PENSIONS.

Article 3.—The establishments ordered to be suppressed by Article 1 will continue to act provisionally according to existing regulations till the transference of their property to the associations provided for by Chapter IV, and at latest till the expiration of the term set forth below.

Article 4.—In a delay of a year from the prolongation of the present Law, the personal and real property belonging to episcopal revenues, fabric committees, presbyteral councils, consistories, and other ecclesiastical establishments, will be made over by the legal representatives of those establishments to the associations which will be formed according to law for the exercise of worship in the former districts of the said establishments; but the property, personal or real, coming from the State will revert to it. The property, whether personal or real, to which charity or any other object apart from the exercise of worship is attached, will be made over by the ecclesiastical establishments within their respective districts to the public services or establishments, the object of which is in accordance with that of said property. This transference will have to be approved by the prefect of the department in which the ecclesiastical establishment is situated. In case of his approval being refused, it will be decided by a Decree of the Council of State.

Article 5.—In default of an ecclesiastical establishment's having proceeded to hand over as above set forth within the period described, provision will be made by the prefect.

Article 6.—In case of the dissolution of an establishment, the property transferred to it in execution of Articles 4 and 5 will be made over to a similar association existing in the same department, district, or neighboring districts. In default of agreement, the conveyance will be made at the request of the first applicant by the court of the place in which the establishment is situated.

Article 7.—The transference of property provided for in the foregoing articles is to be made without profit to the Treasury.

Article 8.—Ministers of worship in receipt of salaries from the State will, from the cessation of their stipends, receive an annual life pension equal to half or two-thirds of their salary according as they reckon at least twenty or thirty years of service paid for by the State. The others will receive an annual allotment of 400 francs for a period equal to half the time of their service.

These pensions and allocations will be unceasing and inalienable under the same conditions as civil pensions. They shall legally cease in case of condemnation to a penalty which implies punishment or infamy. They will be suspended for two years in case of condemnation for one of the offences set forth in Articles 26 and 27 of the present Law.

CHAPTER III.

PLACES OF WORSHIP.

Article 9.—Buildings anterior to the Concordat which have been set apart for the exercise of worship or the housing of its ministers—Cathedrals, churches, chapels, synagogues, archbishops' and bishops' houses, presbyteries, seminaries, as well as their real property and the

furniture which was in them at the time they were placed at the disposal of religion, are and shall remain the property of the State or of the communes, which shall grant their free use for two years from the promulgation of the present law to the ecclesiastical establishments or associations founded for the exercise of worship in the former districts of the ecclesiastical establishments suppressed. The State and the communes shall be subject to the same obligation with regard to the buildings erected since the Concordat, of which they are the proprietors. At the expiration of the period fixed above, the State and the communes must allow the associations to rent the same buildings for a term not exceeding ten years. The rent shall not exceed ten per cent. of the mean annual revenue of the establishments suppressed, the said revenue being calculated on the returns of the last five years previous to the promulgation of the present Law.

The letting may be renewed for the benefit of the associations for successive periods of not more than ten years.

Each renewal can only take place in the last two years of the current lease. Repairs and upkeep shall be at the charge of the establishments or associations which shall besides be under an obligation to take out an insurance against the risks of fire and lightning. In case of these prescriptions not being carried out, the tenancy shall legally lapse. The tenant associations shall not be able to avail themselves against the State and the communes of the dispositions of Article 1,720 of the Civil Code.

Article 10.—Places of worship of which the ecclesiastical establishments would be the proprietors shall, along with the furniture with which they are equipped, be made over to the associations under the conditions laid down in Chapter II.

Article 11.—The movable property mentioned in the first paragraph of Article 9, which may not yet have been placed upon the classified list drawn up under the Law of March 30, 1887, is by the effect of the present Law added to that list; but the Minister of Public Instruction and the Fine Arts shall, after three years, proceed to the elimination of those objects the preservation of which would not present sufficient interest from a historical or artistic point of view. Moreover, the property, real and movable, made over under the present Law to the associations may be classified under the same conditions as if they belonged to public establishments. Moreover there shall be no derogation from the dispositions of the Law of March 20, 1887.

CHAPTER IV.

ASSOCIATIONS FOR THE EXERCISE OF WORSHIP.

Article 12.—The associations formed for the exercise of worship must be constituted in accordance with Article 5 and following of the Law of July 1, 1901. They shall be subject to the other prescriptions of that Law under reserve of the dispositions hereafter set forth.

Article 13.—They must have for their exclusive object the exercise of a particular form of worship. They shall be able to receive, in addition to the assessments provided by Article 6 of the Law of July 1, 1901, the product of alms and collections for the expenses of worship, to take fees, even by foundation, for the ceremonies or services of religion, rents for benches and seats, for the supply of objects for funeral services in places of worship, and for the decoration of those buildings.

They shall not be able under any form whatsoever to

receive any subventions from the State, the departments, or the communes. But those sums will not be considered as subventions which the State, the departments, or communes, think fit to employ in landlord's repairs to places of worship let to associations.

Article 14.—These associations can, under the forms decided by Article 7 of the Decree of August 16, 1901, form unions with a central administrative or directorate; these unions shall be regulated by Articles 12 and 13 of the present law. But unions which shall extend beyond ten departments are deprived of all juridical capacity.

Article 15.—The funds at the disposal of the associations and unions shall be placed in the names of trustees. Their total revenue shall not exceed the annual average of the sums expended for the last five years on the maintenance of worship. This capital, however, may be increased by sums which, deposited in certain names at the *Caisse des Dépôts et Consignations*, shall be exclusively employed, along with the interest accruing, for the purchase, construction, or repair of buildings or furniture destined for the needs of the association or union.

Article 16.—The directors or administrators of an association or a union who shall have contravened Articles 12, 13, 14 and 15, shall be liable to a fine of from 16 to 100 francs, and to an imprisonment of from six days or three months, or to one of these penalties singly.

The Courts shall be able at the demand of any interested party or of the public Ministry to declare the dissolution of the association or union.

Article 17.—The real property belonging to the associations and unions shall be subject to the tax of mortmain.

CHAPTER V.

THE "POLICE" OF WORSHIP.

Article 18.—Assemblies for the celebration of worship can only take place after a declaration made according to the form of Article 2 of the Law of June 30, 1841, and indicating the place where they will be held. A single declaration is sufficient for the whole of the regular assemblies, whether periodic or incidental, which will take place during the year.

Article 19.—It is forbidden to hold political meetings in the places which regularly serve for the exercise of worship.

Article 20.—Processions and other external manifestations of a religion can only be held by virtue of an authorization from the Mayor of the Commune. The ringing of bells is regulated by a municipal decree.

Article 21.—It is forbidden in future to erect or fix any religious sign or emblem on public monuments or in any public place, except on buildings devoted to worship, places for private burial, and in museums or exhibitions.

Article 22.—Contraventions of the foregoing Articles will be punished by simple police penalties.

Those who have organized a meeting or demonstration, those who have taken part in it as ministers of religion, and in the cases provided against by Articles 18 and 19, will be liable to the penalties in the cases of Articles 18, 19, and 20.

Article 23.—A fine of from 16 to 200 francs, and an imprisonment of from six days to two months, or one of these penalties singly, will be inflicted on those who by deed, violence, or threats against an individual, by making him fear the loss of his employment, or by exposing his

person, family or fortune to injury or loss, shall have determined him to exercise, or abstain from exercising, a religion, to contribute, or to abstain from contributing, to the expenses of a religion, to keep certain feasts, to observe certain days of rest, and in consequence to open or close his workshops, shops, or stores, and therefore perform or leave certain work.

Article 24.—The same penalties will be inflicted on those who shall have stopped, hindered, or interrupted the exercise of a religion by brawling or disorder caused in the place set apart for these exercises.

Article 25.—The dispositions of the two preceding Articles only apply to those disorders, outrages, or incidents the nature or circumstances of which shall not call for severer penalties according to the provisions of the Penal Code.

Article 26.—Any minister of religion who, in the places in which it is exercised, shall, by a discourse, reading, distributing writings, or by notices publicly placarded, have outraged or defamed a citizen charged with a public service, or shall have sought to influence the vote of electors or to determine them to refrain from voting, shall be punished by a fine of from 300 to 3,000 francs and an imprisonment of from a month to a year, or by one of these penalties singly.

Article 27.—If a discourse delivered or a document placarded or distributed publicly in the places in which worship is held contains a direct provocation to resist the execution of the laws or legal acts of public authority, or if it tends to arouse or arm one part of the citizens against the other, the minister of religion who shall have rendered himself guilty shall be punished with an imprisonment of from three months to two years, without prejudice of the penalties of complicity in the case where-

in the provocation should be followed by sedition, revolt, or civil war.

Article 28.—In the case of prosecutions before the police courts or correctional courts by application of Articles 18 and 19, 26 and 27, the association established for the exercise of the religion in the place in which the infraction has been committed, and its directors and administrators, shall be civilly and as a body responsible.

If the place has been let to the association by the State or by the communes, in virtue of the present law, the lapse of the tenancy may be demanded.

CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL REGULATIONS.

Article 29.—Article 463 of the Penal Code is applicable to all cases for which the present law provides penalties.

Article 30.—The religious congregations will remain subject to the laws of July 1, 1901, December 4, 1902, and July 7, 1904.

Article 31.—A regulation by the public administrative published within three months following the promulgation of the present law, will lay down the measures best calculated to ensure its due execution.

Article 32.—All provisions relating to the public organization of worship previously recognized by the State, as well as all provisions contrary to what is contained in the present law, are and will remain abrogated, and notably:

- (1) The Law of Germinal 18 year X. declaring that the Convention passed on Messidor 28 year IX. between the Pope and the French Government, together with the organic articles of the aforesaid

convention and of the Protestant denominations, shall be observed as laws of the Republic;

(2) The Decree of March 26, 1852, and the Law of August 1, 1879, on Protestant worship;

(3) The Decree of March 17, 1808, the Law of February 8, 1831, and the Ordinance of May 25, 1844, on Jewish worship;

(4) The Decrees of December 22, 1812, and of March 19, 1859;

(5) Articles 201 to 208, 260 to 264, and 294 of the Penal Code;

(6) Articles 100 and 101, paragraphs 11 and 12 of Article 136, and Article 167 of the Law of April 5, 1884.

—*The Tablet*, London, Eng.



The Practice
of
Confession in England
before the
Norman Conquest



The Practice of Confession in England Before the Norman Conquest (I)



I.

The Round Table Conference on Confession and Absolution, which was held at Fulham Palace some three years ago, bears witness in a very conspicuous way to the importance of the subject in the eyes of our Anglican fellow countrymen. It would probably be rash to assert that any change in the presentment of the historical evidence would have perceptibly affected the verdict then arrived at. Whatever value may attach to the theory of continuity for controversial purposes, no sentimental considerations of this sort are likely to influence the practice of the Church of England as a whole. None the less it seems worth while to point out that a very strange perversion of the facts of history is being propagated among and quietly assimilated by many intelligent English churchmen. These views seem to be spreading simply because no effective contradiction is offered to them. I propose, therefore, to give some of the evidence available upon this subject. Naturally England during the four or five centuries which followed the preaching of the Gospel in these islands has the best claim to serve as the point of departure for such an inquiry.

(1) The substance of this and the following article was read at the October meeting of the Historical Research Society (Session 1904-1905) in the Cathedral Hall, Westminster. Since then the paper has been revised and almost entirely rewritten.

Let me hasten to explain from the outset that I have no desire to embark upon any sort of scholastic controversy, as the term would be ordinarily understood. The purpose of these articles is only to present the evidence of facts, and it is in the name of sound history and not of sound theology that a protest is here made against a view of the ancient practice of confession before the Fourth Council of Lateran which, owing mainly to the elaborate work of the American scholar, Dr. H. C. Lea (1), threatens to become increasingly prevalent. It has rather surprised me to find that Dr. Lea's theories have not been more narrowly scrutinized by advanced Anglicans, to some of whom the matters which he treats must be of considerable interest. But in the absence of effective protests in that quarter I am tempted to say a few words here in defence of what until very recent years was the almost universally accepted teaching. It is at any rate the teaching of such a scholar as Mabillon, a man whose acquaintance with the ecclesiastical life of

(1) There is so much to be set down of more immediate importance that it seems best to refrain from any detailed criticism of Dr. H. C. Lea's historical methods. It must suffice here to say that while his industry is remarkable and his collection of references upon all the topics which he treats is often of considerable value, his judgments in my view are absolutely untrustworthy. Dr. Lea repeatedly shows himself to be ignorant even of the terminology employed by the writers whom he quotes, while his strong anti-clerical bias is attested by his own sympathizers (see, for instance, the "Theologisches Literaturblatt," July 14, 1893, quoted in Pijper's "Geschiedenis der Boete en Beicht in de Christelijke Kerk," ii. p. 4). Such subjects as Canon Law and mediæval theology abound in technicalities which can only be successfully elucidated by much patient research and comparison. A deluge of quotational snippets in these matters is of all forms of evidence the most fallacious.

the early middle ages was to an extraordinary degree complete and first-hand.

To provide a concise summary of Dr. Lea's conclusions and at the same time to give an idea of the trust—as I think unwisely—reposed in him by some Anglican scholars of eminence, it will be convenient to quote a passage in a book which was published a few years back at the Cambridge University Press under the joint editorship of Dr. Augustus Jessopp and Dr. Montague Rhodes James (1). The high standing of both editors in this country as exponents of mediæval lore is too well known to call for comment. The passage in question appears in that portion of the introduction for which Dr. Jessopp is primarily responsible, but it is difficult not to suppose that the words also passed under the eye of his fellow editor, and that they failed to elicit from him any decisive protest. Be this as it may, Dr. Jessopp writes as follows:

“When Thomas of Monmouth wrote this book (between 1172 and 1180) Auricular Confession had not yet been made obligatory, nor had the Indicative formula of absolution been introduced into the Church. In the monasteries the ancient custom had been for the brethren to make public confession of their faults and sins in the Chapter House, and to submit to such penance as might be imposed upon them. Slowly, very slowly, the general confession of guiltiness and sinfulness in which a whole congregation joined audibly, developed into the private confession to a priest, and this was first imposed upon all the faithful by the famous canon “*Omnis utriusque sexus,*” of the Lateran Council of 1216. We hear several times

(1) Thomas of Monmouth, “The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich,” edited with a translation by Augustus Jessopp, D.D., and Montague Rhodes James, Lit.D. Cambridge University Press.

of confession in the following pages ; but the reader must be reminded that we are engaged with the twelfth century and not with the thirteenth. When we read that Wicheman, one of the monks, was appointed the Bishop's deputy for receiving confessions, it should be borne in mind that the duties of this office did not consist in extorting secrets from the penitent, or in giving absolution even in the *precatory* form."

I cannot help interrupting Dr. Jessopp at this point with an appeal to a story contained in the very book upon which he is commenting. The narrative of Thomas of Monmouth, which was all written between 1172 and 1180, contains certain accounts of miracles wrought at the little Saint's tomb. Among the rest is the story of a woman who, being defiled with grievous sin, believed herself to have been miraculously prevented by some mysterious resistance from approaching the shrine. Therefore she cries out—I quote the translation of Dr. Jessopp's collaborator—

"Let some priest come, I pray, if there is one present, to whom I may confess my sins and crimes, and all the enormities of my life. Let him hear my confession, *absolve* me and impose penance. I am sure that when I am confessed and *absolved* by a priest, I shall obtain the prayers of the holy martyr, and be allowed to approach the holy altar."

The priest comes, and when the confession has been heard, the woman approaches the shrine without difficulty. In the face of such evidence as this, it is not easy to understand why Dr. Jessopp should say that "at the time when Thomas wrote . . . the duties of a confessor did not include giving absolution even in the *precatory* form." But let us proceed with the original quotation :

"He (the confessor) had to hear what the sinners had to tell against himself, and to adjudge such penance as the case in his judgment demanded, or in a matter of difficulty to report it to the Bishop, who would deal with it in his discretion. Secrecy was not of the essence of confession in those days, and no scruple would be felt in reporting what a dying man had revealed in his last moments. The doctrine of the Seal of Confession had not yet been heard of; it was the inevitable result of the enforcement of auricular confession in a later time. This will explain how Thomas could have known what only could be reported by a priest who had heard the penitent's story (1). At the point of death, men and women then, as now, yearned to unburden their consciences of a load that was too heavy to bear, but there was no necessary obligation to conceal what it might, in many cases, be only a matter of right and duty to make known. The comfort ministered by the priest took the form of an intercessory prayer; and there is no trace in the narrative we are concerned with of any other absolution except that which was pronounced by the Bishop on Absolution Day, as the Thursday in Passion Week had by this time got to be called."

Dr. Jessopp puts first among his authorities for this

(1) This, again, seems to me to involve a strange misunderstanding. Thomas of Monmouth's narrative informs us that a certain Aylward Ded was admonished in a vision when he lay dying to disclose the crime which he had guiltily concealed all his life. Accordingly he summoned the priest Wicheman with the express object that Wicheman, after hearing his confession, might make the secret known. It surely cannot be necessary to point out that no theologian of the Catholic Church would regard this as a violation of the seal of confession. It is always in the penitent's power to release his confessor from the obligation of secrecy if he chooses.

presentment of the subject the treatise of Morinus (1), but I think it would be difficult to find justification for such views in the pages of the famous Oratorian. It is rather to the work of "that wonderful American scholar," as he styles Dr. Lea, "a work," he adds, "full to overflowing of curious learning and research," that we must trace the source of Dr. Jessopp's inspiration. That Dr. Lea would accept the passage just quoted as an accurate expression of his views is by no means certain. The English scholar has converted into categorical statements a good many things which Dr. Lea has implied without asserting them explicitly. None the less the passage appears to me to be interesting precisely because it sums up the predominant impression which must almost necessarily be left in the mind of any unsuspicious reader by a perusal of the "History of Auricular Confession." Moreover, the account is in substantial agreement with another synopsis of the question which has been published more recently than Dr. Jessopp's, and which is again obviously inspired by Dr. Lea's volumes (2). When reduced to definite propositions, the principal points laid down in the above extract seem to be the following:

1. Private confession to a priest came in very slowly, and was first made obligatory upon all the faithful in 1216.

(1) "*Commentarius Historicus de Disciplina in administratione Sacramenti Poenitentiae*," Antwerp, 1683.

(2) I refer to a small work entitled "A Treatise of the History of Confession until it developed into Auricular Confession," by C. M. Roberts, B.D., Rector of Aldridge, Cambridge University Press, 1901. Again, in the Round Table Conference of 1901, Dr. Lea's researches were appealed to as if they constituted a sort of final authority upon the points of fact; see the "Report," p. 44.

2. Before this time the duties of the office of confessor did not consist in extorting secrets from the penitent. The sinner accused himself as he thought fit; or, in other words, integrity of accusation was not insisted on.

3. In the latter part of the twelfth century absolution was not commonly given at all after private confession, and the indicative as opposed to the precatory form had not yet been introduced.

4. Secrecy was not of the essence of confession. The doctrine of the seal of confession was not heard of until a later date.

In the remarks which follow it will perhaps be convenient to reverse the order of these headings. The last point in particular can be sufficiently dealt with first, and it will pave the way for an ampler treatment later on of what is less obvious but in substance more important. I will begin then with the question of secrecy.

Let us note, then, in the first place that it does not seem easy to ascertain when the exact phrase *sigillum confessionis* was first introduced. It may possibly even be true that it does not occur in theological writings of the twelfth century, but surely it cannot be said without grave risk of misleading the unwary reader that "secrecy was not of the essence of confession in those days." Take the following decree which is not only found in the text of the first codification of the Canon Law, the "Decretum Gratiani" (1), itself older than the middle of the twelfth century, but appears in the English secular code known as the "Leges Henrici I." This

(1) Gratian attributes the decree in question to some Pope Gregory (? Gregory VII.). He certainly did not invent it.

compilation Dr. Felix Liebermann (1) has recently been able to assign with absolute confidence to between the years 1114 and 1118.

"Let a priest take heed that in the case of those who confess their sins to him he do not repeat to anyone, either relatives or strangers, the sins that have been confessed to him. If he do otherwise let him be degraded, and for all the days of his life let him be an object of scorn, doing penance as a pilgrim" (2).

So again in a work attributed to Lanfranc and certainly belonging to his time, we find a short treatise on the secrecy of confession ("De Celandi Confessione"), in which strong words are used of those who betray the confidence reposed in them. Such a priest is said to be guilty of a deadly crime (*mortalis criminis reus*) (3).

(1) See his brochure "Über d. engl. Rechtsbuch Leges Henrici," Halle, 1901; and the references in the Introduction to his great work, "Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen," Vol. I, p. 550.

(2) Liebermann, "Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen," p. 550. Another clause immediately follows which, as the meaning might be open to dispute, I leave untranslated: "Et si quando episcopus dicit aliquem sibi soli fuisse confessum proprium crimen, et ille neget, non putet episcopus ad iniuriam suam pertinere, quod sibi soli non creditur, etsi scrupulo conscientiae suae dicat se ei nolle communicare." This last is taken from an early Carthaginian canon (Mansi iv. p. 438) which Morinus (lib. ii. cap. 15, p. 111) adduces to prove that the confidential character of confession was recognized from the beginning. In the "Corpus Juris Canonici" the decree above quoted is found in the "Decretum Gratiani," Secunda Pars, causa xxxiii., quaest. 3, De Poeniten., Dist. 6, cap. 2. The penalty of perpetual pilgrimage, practically equivalent to exile, mentioned in the decree meets us as early as the eighth century.

(3) Migne, "P.L." 150, p. 628. "Revelator enim confessionis mortalis criminis reus est; fidem namque mentitur, sacramenta confessionis non observat, in unitatem Patris et Filii peccat, in Spiritum Sanctum qui est vera remissio blasphematur."

and his conduct is declared to be a horrible treachery like that of Judas. Moreover, the whole treatise seems to indicate that the piece of formal legislation just quoted was simply the development of an unwritten but clearly understood law, which had long been regarded as a fundamental principle. Without pressing the matter further, it will be sufficient to quote a definite statement made by Bishop Jonas of Orleans (1). "Those," he says "who confess their sins to the priests in secret confession, and who blot them out by the satisfaction of worthy penance are on no account to be betrayed." Or I may refer to the far-reaching influence of such a principle as that laid down in the rule of St. Benedict and developed in the "Concordia Regularum" of Benedict of Aniane (c. 817), who may be regarded with little exaggeration as the second founder of monasticism in the West. Thus, in the last named treatise we read:

"Let the Abbot, or superior, or anyone of the senior brethren to whom the duty of hearing confessions has been entrusted by the Abbot, on no account reveal the sins disclosed to him, whether great or small (*crimina maiora vel minora nullatenus manifestet*), save only to the just Judge who washes away the crimes of all who

(1) "Nequaquam prodendi sunt." See Jonas, "De Institutione Laicali," Bk. I, chap. 18 (Migne "P.L." 106, p. 156). The passage is rendered only the more significant from the context in which it occurs. The writer is discussing the duty of fraternal correction founded on Matt. xviii. 15, and he leads off with the statement that if anyone comes to the knowledge of another's sin through confession, such confidence is to be strictly respected. The duty of denunciation cannot apply in such a case. Bishop Jonas was not, of course, an Englishman, but he belonged to the school of Theodulphus, the friend of Alcuin, and represented an ecclesiastical tradition identical with that which prevailed in England.

own their guilt. For he who has modestly confessed his wounds, confessed them not that he might incur disgrace but that he might recover his soul's health (*ad salutem redintegrandam*) having a just God for his witness, to whom also he looks to be healed. . . . Let no one of the brethren, however, presume to hear a confession or to impose penance without the appointment of the Abbot" (1).

I am quite aware that it is, to say the least, very doubtful whether what is here spoken of can be regarded as sacramental confession. Probably enough it should be looked upon as corresponding rather to what would now be called "spiritual direction." But there can surely be no reason for supposing that a less confidential character belonged to confession which was really sacramental, *i.e.*, made with a view to absolutism or the exercise of the power of the keys. The great teachers of that age were almost all monks, and Benedict of Aniane, like Alcuin, Theodulphus, Jonas, and many others whom I shall have occasion to quote, lived at the very focus of the Christianizing influences then at work in the world. What is more the "Concordia Regularum" was not a new code. It was, as it professed to be, a compilation of pre-existing materials tested by the experience of older monastic legislators. It seems to me incredible that

(1) "Concordia Regularum," cap. xv. sec. 11 (Migne, "P.L." 103, p. 854). If it be objected to that it is not a document of English origin we may reply that not only were the ties which bound English ecclesiastics to the court of Charlemagne and his immediate successors of the strongest and most intimate nature, but in particular the influence of Benedict of Aniane upon English monasticism is attested by irrefutable evidence. See, *e.g.*, Miss Mary Bateson's article in *The English Historical Review*, 1894, pp. 694 seq.

the principles thus laid down could have failed to impress themselves widely upon the minds of the secular clergy even if they had been new and previously unheard of. No thoughtful student of the early Middle Ages will question the fact that the germ of nearly all religious developments at that epoch is to be traced ultimately to the monasteries.

As this point of the secrecy of confession will incidentally be further illustrated in discussing other features of the penitential discipline of the eighth and ninth centuries, it does not seem necessary to develop the matter further here. Let me only note how in a set of "Capitula" of 813, when a report had been circulated in certain parts of Austria priests took money for betraying those whose thefts had been made known to them in confession, an inquiry was at once ordered by the ecclesiastical authorities (1). The truth of the allegation was evidently doubted, for the whole legislation of that age was directed to secure that sins and crimes which were of themselves secret should not even indirectly be made public by the penance imposed for them. In the Eastern Church we find the revelation of a confession explicitly denounced under threat of excommunication as early as the year 527 (2). In the West at an even earlier period the sermons of St. Leo seem to presuppose an equally strict observance of secrecy in the case of offences which did not call for public penance (3). But all this, of course, belongs to a period long anterior to the preaching of Christianity in England.

(1) "Capitularia Regum Francorum" (M.G.H.) i. p. 175.

(2) "A priest who violates the secrecy of confession must be anathematized," Synod of Dovin in Armenia, cap. 20. See Hefele, "Concilia" (English translation), vol. iv. p. 146.

(3) See Leo, "Epist," 168 (136). Migne "P.L." 54, 1210.

We may now pass to the more difficult question of absolution. It has already been noticed that the assertion that absolution even in the precatory form had not been introduced in the twelfth century, is hardly borne out by the narrative which elicited the remark. This, however, is a small matter. The point upon which our interest centres regards rather the practice of the English Church in the days of King Alfred or of Bede. Is it true that in those earlier ages absolution, whether direct or indirect, was not formally accorded to private penitents? I must confess that all the evidence seems to me to point strongly to an opposite conclusion. Let me quote a few illustrative passages.

There is a homily which Dom Germain Morin, the distinguished Benedictine of Maredsous, has recently identified for the first time as the work of the famous Alcuin (1). Alcuin was born at York in 735, the very year that Venerable Bede died. He lived consequently a full century before Alfred the Great, and he was in touch with all the venerable traditions of Northumbrian Christianity, down to the time when, after forty-five years of study in England, he attached himself for the rest of his days to the Court of Charlemagne.

In this homily, intended for St. Peter's Day, the writer declares that the keys given to St. Peter were entrusted also to all the bishops and priests of the Church on such terms that, after examining into the cases of sinners (*agnitis peccantium causis*) in accordance with the meas-

(1) See the "Revue Bénédictine," vol. ix. pp. 491-497, and especially pp. 495-496. The collection of Alcuin's homilies is found entire in MS. Latin 14302 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Some of these homilies, including that here referred to, have been printed under the name of Paul Warnefrid (Paul the Deacon).

ure of fault or repentance which they discern, they are to exercise the power of binding and losing. Then, after speaking at some length of the carelessness shown by many priests in the exercise of this judicial office, he goes on: "When, therefore, they have duly studied the case and the sin, let them pronounce those absolved from eternal death whom they perceive to be blotting out their misdeeds by worthy compunction." (*Perspecta igitur causa peccati, quos viderint digna compunctione errata delere, hos a vinculis aeternae mortis pronuntient absolutos*) (1). It would be difficult to imagine anything more explicit than these words, "pronounce them absolved from the bonds of eternal death." There is nothing which in any way suggests that Alcuin is thinking of public penitents (who were absolved by bishops not by priests), and besides we know from numerous other passages, as we shall see, that Alcuin inculcated private confession in the most unmistakeable terms. This explicit mention of absolution after confession is just four hundred years earlier than the time when Dr. Jessopp tells us that absolution, even in the precatory form, was still unknown.

Let me take another example. Theodulphus, Bishop of Orleans, was not indeed an Englishman, but he was intimately connected with many Englishmen (2), and his Capitularies a century or two later were translated into Anglo-Saxon. He was a contemporary of Alcuin and Charlemagne, and he has left for us a full account

(1) Migne "P.L." 95, p. 1483.

(2) Theodulphus had previously been Abbot of Fleury, and Fleury was the source whence many distinguished English ecclesiasticals, e.g., Archbishop Odo and St. Oswald, derived their inspiration.

of the manner of confessing practised in his day. The account concludes with these directions:

"When he (the penitent) has done all these things," *i.e.*, made his accusation, answered the priest's inquiries, promised amendment, engaged to make restitution and to forgive his enemies, "the priest shall consider the gravity of his transgressions, and shall impose upon him a proportionable time of penance. Then let him say over him the seven penitential psalms with the prayers that are in the Sacramentary, and absolve him in peace (*absolvat eum in pace*)" (1).

What were these prayers that were in the Sacramentary? They were the prayers for the reconciliation of public penitents, which from the time of the compilation of the Gelsianum downwards are to be met with alike in Sacramentaries and in Pontificals. Although in some books a distinction was made between absolution forms; some being assigned for public and others for private penitents, there seems every reason to believe that the prayers appointed in the Sacramentaries for the bishop's use at the great public reconciliation on Maundy Thursday, were also employed without scruple by parish priests in absolving their parishioners at ordinary times. In point of fact we find that the forms in our extant manuscripts, which were specially designed for private use, occur also elsewhere in the *Ordines* for the reconciliation of public penitents by the Bishop. But be this as it may, we still possess a few of the private formulæ used in the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries, and the student who may have examined carefully the documents collected in Bishop Schmitz's important work

(1) Migne "P.L." 105, p. 219. Baluze, "Miscellanea" ii. p. 103.

"Die Bussbücher und die Bussdisciplin der Kirche" can only rub his eyes and ask himself whether he is dreaming when he reads, in Dr. Jessopp's volume, the extraordinary statement about absolution which has been quoted above (1).

And first let me refer to such a sacramentary as Theodulphus seems to have had in mind, a volume which though of later date than his "Capitula" is nevertheless contemporary with some of our pre-Norman rulers. The Vatican codex 4,772 belongs, according to the concurrent testimony of several experts, to the early part of the eleventh century (2).

It is a Sacramentary written for the Cathedral of Arezzo, and on folio 190 there occurs in the hand of the original scribe an *ordo ad penitentiam dandam*, which its contents prove to have been intended for private use by simple priests in hearing confessions (3). I hope I shall be excused for translating entire the absolution form

(1) See, for instance, in Schmitz the 6th Book of the "Hailigste Penitential" (II., pp. 254-255 and pp. 290-294). The rubric *Incipit reconciliatio penitentis* is found in MSS. of the ninth century. Cf. Father von Nostitz-Rieneck in the "Zeitschrift f. k. Theologie" 1896, pp. 566, seq.

(2) See Ebner, "Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Missale Romanum," p. 224; Ehrensberger. "Libri Liturgici Bib. Vaticanae," p. 408; Schmitz, "Bussbücher" ii. p. 395.

(3) An interesting feature in this "ordo" is the fact that the preliminary prayers are in the plural, and were obviously intended to be used for a number of intending penitents in common. After these prayers were over, each one in turn presented himself privately to the priest ("unusquisque per se singulariter veniens humiliter flexis genibus stet ante eum") and the examination and absolution forms are in the singular. This goes far to explain Dr. Lea's difficulty that the forms are so long that only a few confessions could be heard in one day.

which follows almost immediately upon the enjoining of the penance.

“Then let the priest tell him (the penitent) to rise and straightway, by means of the stole with which he is vested, and which he puts into the penitent's hand, let him make him remission, saying:

“By that true and entire confession which thou hast just made to me a priest of Christ, sinner though I am, may Almighty God absolve thee from all the judgments (*judiciis*—sentences or penalties?) which are due to thee on account of thy sins according to the multitude of His mercies of old, and may He spare thee and remit and wipe out all thy sins, and bring thee to eternal life. Amen.

“And I, a priest of Christ, by the intercession of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, to whom God gave the power to bind and to loose, and through whom this same power was imparted to the bishops and priests of Christ, and in the exercise of my ministry, absolve thee from all judgments with which I have bound thee for thy sins, always excepting the fast imposed and the alms and prayers of priests, as I enjoined upon thee a short while ago, and if thou shouldst die in this confession and penance, before thou comest to another confession, may Christ the Son of God have mercy upon thee, and mayest thou remain absolved for ever and ever. Amen.’

“Then the priest says: ‘My son do thou now commend thee to God and to this sign of the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ.’ Then let him (the penitent) join his hands and offer himself at the foot of the crucifix. Meanwhile let the priest say over him:

“By this sign of the saving cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the intercession of such and such and of all the Saints, may the Almighty God have mercy upon

thee, and give thee true humility and good perseverance, and remit all thy sins past, present, and future; may he deliver thee from the snares of the devil and bring thee to eternal life, through Christ our Lord, etc.'

"Finally, let him say to him: 'Now sign thee with the sign of the cross of Christ against the devil and against all his temptations.' While he signs, let him say to him: 'May the peace and benediction of God the Father Almighty and the Son and the Holy Ghost descend and remain upon thee here and for ever, and may the good angel of the Lord keep thee from all evil and defend thee everywhere through the grace of our Lord, etc.'

"'My son, go in peace.'" (1).

This is, perhaps, one of the earliest forms which we can be quite sure was intended for the *private* absolution of penitents. The Italian Sacramentary which contains it belongs to the time of our English King Knut, but the form is undoubtedly older than this, and is almost certainly of German origin. For many reasons it strikes me as peculiarly interesting and especially for its transitional character, exhibiting as it does a combination of the precatory and indicative forms of absolution. The curious use of the stole seems to have left traces of its presence to this day in some parts of the Continent, where it is the custom for the priest to allow the end of his stole to hang out over the front of the modern confessional door, so that the penitent can take it into his hand and kiss it after leaving the box. Similarly the signing with the sign of the cross, which, it will be remembered, is retained in the form of absolution actually in use, seems to be a link with a very early description of a confession reduced to its barest essentials, pre-

(1) Schmitz, "Büßbücher" vol. ii. pp. 406-407.

served to us in the almost contemporary Life of St. Corbinian, whose biographer Arbeo died in 784. It is there recorded that while Pepin II. was still alive (*i.e.*, before 714) St. Corbinian one day met a prisoner being carried off to execution. He interceded for the criminal, but his captors refused to let him go. The Saint, however, persisted in demanding that at least sufficient time should be allowed to enable the man to make his confession. Whereupon, we are told:

"Then the man of God earnestly strove to touch the criminal's heart. He made all present withdraw to some distance (1), warning him that he ought to bring to the outlet of his lips by confession all the foul corruption of the wounds of his soul, whether in deeds, or in words or in thoughts. He was earnest with him that he should bewail his past ill-deeds, and take precautions against others in future. Then he fortified the prisoner's brow with the sign salvation, and with his own hand traced the mark of that life-giving emblem (*salutiferi vexilli signum*) upon his neck where the chains of the condemned were already hanging. After which he turned away with a sorrowful countenance (2) and continued his journey."

Of course, Corbinian was not an Englishman, but it is worth notice that his enemy Queen Pilitrud insinuated that he was, referring to him subsequently as *episcopum*

(1) Surely this witnesses to the fact that even in the eighth century secrecy was regarded as part of confession, and so essential a part that it was to be insisted upon even at so desperate a moment.

(2) See Rietzler in the "Abhandlungen" of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, iii. Cl., vol. xviii, (1888), p. 252. The text is taken from a precious MS. at the British Museum (Add. 11,880), which alone preserves the primitive redaction of Arbeo's Life.

Britannorum origine ortum; which probably meant, as Rietzler suggests, that he belonged to the Romanising party of St. Boniface. In any case no one who is familiar with St. Boniface's letters to his fellow countrymen in England can feel the least doubt that the religious institutions of England and Germany at that date were in substance identical.

II.

To return to the form of private absolution quoted above from the Arezzo Sacramentary, I am fully prepared to admit that there are signs here which point to a very undeveloped state of sacramental doctrine. The compiler does not seem quite clear whether it is right to attribute the remission of sins directly to the priest or to God alone, and whether that remission takes effect at once or only at the completion of the penance enjoined. But all this appears to me quite consistent with a rational understanding of the theory of development in theology. The points which do stand out quite clearly in all ecclesiastical teaching from the time of Bede onwards may be shown, I think, to be these:

1. That a power of binding and loosing of sins by Our Lord's appointment was understood to reside in the bishops and priests of the Church.
2. That the more grievous offences against God could not ordinarily be forgiven without confession and the intervention of the priestly power.
3. That this remission of sins was imparted through the enjoining of penance, and through the use of some external form of reconciliation in which the laying on of hands, by making the sign of the cross, was esteemed an essential feature.

How far this act of reconciliation was associated with the use of definite words conveying pardon seems to be involved in great obscurity. Certain it is that there is a considerable diversity in the absolution forms, mainly precatory, which we find written down from the 9th to the 13th centuries. Most of these also are relatively late, but yet it seems a gratuitous assumption to suppose that because we cannot in the earlier centuries point to definite absolution prayers for private penitents which are clearly distinct from those appointed for the bishop on Maundy Thursday, absolution in the case of private confession was entirely dispensed with. On the contrary, it is most significant that in the early Sacramentaries, a deathbed form or prayer of absolution, which was obviously meant for use by simple priests, was quite commonly inserted in the volume under Maundy Thursday immediately after the formulae for the reconciliation of public penitents. The place would seem to be one to which priests naturally turned in connection with confession. Moreover, we have at least one very remarkable indication of the historical development of the later private absolution forms. In a widely disseminated "Ordo Romanus" for confession, which does not seem, however, at present to be found in any manuscript earlier than the 12th century, we find the following formula bearing the special rubric "absolutio":

"Absolutio.

"Absolvimus te vice beati Petri Apostoli cui potestas ligandi atque absolvendi a Deo concessa est, cuius vicem, quamvis indigni, nomine non autem merito gerimus, et oramus ut quoad tua meretur accusatio et ad nos pertinet culpae remissio, sit omnipotens Deus omnium peccatorum tuorum pius indultor, qui vivit," etc.

Another prayer follows, beginning: "Et auctoritate omnipotentis Dei," etc. (1).

Now in what is probably the earliest strictly liturgical book of the English Church now extant, the book known as Egbert's Pontifical (2), the first of these prayers is found in a slightly altered form amongst the prayers used at the public reconciliation of penitents on Maundy Thursday. Even if we had nothing more to record than its presence in Egbert's Pontifical the fact would be worthy of note in view of Dr. Jessopp's statement about the late introduction of the indicative form of absolution. Nothing could be more direct than the *absolvimus vos vice B. Petri apostoli*, but there is something more than this. Between leaves 157 and 158 and opposite the place where the absolution occurs, an Anglo-Saxon translation of the prayer in question has been interpolated, copied seemingly by the same 10th century hand. Except that it introduces a form of address in the words "beloved brethren" (3), it reproduces faithfully the original Latin:

"Beloved Brethren, we release (*onlisath*) you from the bonds of your sins, as representing Saint Peter, the chief of the Apostles, to whom Our Lord gave the power to bind for sins and to loose again (*synna to gebindeonne*)

(1) Schmitz, "Büßbücher," 1 p. 100. From MS. Vatican 1152, 4747, etc. Schmitz says "codex 4747 gehört dem 11 Jahrhundert"; but I think there must be some mistake here.

(2) There seems little doubt that this book, at least in substance, was really compiled for Egbert, Archbishop of York (768), although it is only preserved to us in an Anglo-Saxon copy made in the 10th century. It is now MS. Fonds Latin 10575 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

(3) This seems a curiously benevolent form of address if it were intended only for sinners doing penance for grave crimes which called for public atonement and needed the bishop's absolution.

and eft to onlysenne) ; and so far as (*ac swa miclum*) the accusation of your sins belongs to you and the forgiveness of them to us, so far be God Almighty life and preservation against all your sins, forgiven through Him, who with Him liveth and reigneth world without end. Amen."

Now without in the least pretending to find in this Anglo-Saxon translation a clear proof that the form was used in the private absolution of penitents, I infer that this prayer, the only one in the whole Pontifical translated into the vernacular, was regarded as of special importance, and that it was probably intended for use by illiterate priests as well as by the bishops. We are certain that *some* form of reconciliation was employed in private penance from the earliest time, though it did not then commonly follow immediately upon confession. We also know that this particular prayer was prescribed for private absolution in various *Ordines* at a later date. Does it not seem likely that it was already used for the same purpose in the ninth and tenth centuries more or less at the option of the individual priest? What seems to me particularly significant is the fact that this identical form, in the singular, *Absolvimus te vice beati Petri, etc.*, is to be found engraved on the leaden absolution cross which was laid upon the breast of Bishop Godfrey of Chichester in 1088 and which was discovered in his tomb. It would be impossible to detail all the evidence relating to this matter which may be found scattered up and down in Bishop Schmitz's volumes ; but I would refer the reader particularly to the Order for private penance which he prints from a MS. of Fulda (Schmitz II. pp. 57 seq.) and which, by a comparison with similar *Ordines* printed by Morinus and Martene, may be traced back to the eighth

century, or at latest the ninth. In a preliminary rubric the confessor is instructed to warn his penitents to present themselves for reconciliation on Maundy Thursday, when their lenten penance has been accomplished, but so much stress is laid upon the importance of this reconciliation that if the confessor sees that his penitent is exceptionally stupid and cannot be trusted to come back at the end of Lent, or if he is going on a journey or likely to be exposed to danger, then "reconciliation," which I take to be simply the equivalent of absolution, is to be accorded then and there before any part of the penance has been performed, provided always the confessor is satisfied of the penitent's good dispositions. I quote the title and the opening sentences entire:

"THE ORDER OF PRIVATE OR ANNUAL PENANCE IS THUS
TO BE CARRIED OUT.

"Every priest ought to forewarn those who are accustomed to confess to him, that at the head of the fast (*i.e.*, on 'Shrove Tuesday or Ash Wednesday) they should begin to come up to renew their confession. He must point out to each a fitting penance or practice (of piety) to be maintained until Maundy Thursday, notifying them, and insisting greatly at the moment that they must on no account make light of the duty of hastening to the reconciliation on that day. But if some special reason interferes, as for instance a journey or other engagement, or if the penitent is perchance so stupid that the priest cannot make him understand, then let him enjoin him a penance both for Lent and for the year, and reconcile him (*i.e.*, absolve him) straightway.

In accordance with this *Ordo*, which must certainly be

as old as the ninth century (1), and is probably still more ancient, it seems to have been the normal practice for a parish priest to hear his penitents' confessions at the beginning of Lent, and to bring them together on Maundy Thursday to receive from him a collective absolution. This would fully explain the plural form *absolvimus vos* of Egbert's Pontifical, which is retained in the translation. Moreover, we can in this way quite understand why the forms of reconciliation which appear in Pontificals, Sacramentaries, and Penitential Ordines should be left so indeterminate as to their application to public or private penitents. They were, no doubt, used for both purposes; a bishop used them for reconciling grave offenders who were sent to him from different parts of his diocese, a parish priest used them for the absolution of those who came to confession out of his own flock.

It will be seen from this that the normal practice was probably to defer absolution until the end of Lent, and until the penance enjoined was, in the main, performed; but it is noteworthy that the "reconciliation" took place before the great Easter Communion, and seems evidently to have been imparted with a view to that Communion. This alone justifies us in assuming that there must always have been some sort of reconciliation ceremony after grievous sin, and we may reasonably assume its existence even where it is not especially mentioned. The following very early document referring to the confessions of the clergy seems to suppose that for those who have sinned grievously confession is the ordinary and necessary means

(1) See Schmitz, "Büßbücher," ii. pp. 55-56. Of the four texts known to us, that printed by Martene is stated by him to be taken from MSS. at Toulouse "ante annos 800 exaratis;" these would be MSS. of the ninth century. Morinus, like Schmitz, assigns the compilation to the eighth century.

of purification before Communion. It takes for granted that those to whom it is addressed will normally keep free from grievous sin, and will not need to confess more than twice a year, but it provides the means of confession at other times, in case, by exception, they should be in need of such a remedy. The document to which I refer is the so-called "Rule for Canons," which Chrodegang, Archbishop of Metz, is known to have promulgated about the year 754.

After quoting various scriptural texts regarding the confession of sins, the author of the Rule proceeds thus:

"The holy fathers, who were perfect, established the rule that immediately when any evil thought at the devil's instigation presented itself in the heart of any servant of God, he ought at once by a humble confession to make it known to his prior. Now although now-a-days we who are slothful and frail do not tread in their footsteps entirely, still it is necessary that in part, so far as God enables us, we should imitate their example in order that by true confession we may deserve to attain to the kingdom of God. So we ordain that twice in the year our clergy should make an entire (*puram*) confession to their bishop, at these times, to wit: (1) once at the beginning of Lent before Easter, and the other time between the middle of August and the kalends of November. Between these days when the bishop gives leave and to whom may be necessary they may make their confession; at other times to the bishop or to some other priest whom the bishop

(1) "A nobis vel binas vices," which W. Schmitz interprets "anno bis vel binas vices." I may point out that the Protestant editor, Dr. W. Schmitz, is not the same person as Bishop H. J. Schmitz, the author of *Die Büssbücher*," previously quoted.

shall have appointed, whenever they choose and require (1). And all the clergy who are not prevented by their sins ought on all Sundays and great feasts to receive the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, because our Lord says in the Gospel: 'He that eateth my flesh and drinketh by blood abideth in me and I in him.' For if anyone should receive these most holy mysteries unworthily he eateth and drinketh judgment to himself. And if, which God forbid, anyone of the clergy when he makes his confession to the bishop be so filled with the spirit of evil as to dare to hide anything of his sins from the bishop and goes about to make his confession to other priests and wishes to conceal his crimes from his own bishop because he fears that the bishop will degrade him, or if he has not yet been advanced to orders that he may be debarred from receiving them, or excluded from the Body of the Lord, or that his vices will be visited with punishment if by any means the bishop should be able to discover this and it should be clearly proved to him, then let (the offender) suffer bodily castigation or prison or any other punishment the bishop may think fitting in proportion to his offence, in order that others may be afraid and may not fall into the same fault; because he is exceedingly wicked who sins before the eyes of God and is ashamed to confess to man when by God's mercy he ought to receive a salutary remedy for his sins."

Although this passage does not mention absolution, it seemed worth while to quote it here because it shows so

(1) The meaning is not clear; the text, obviously corrupt, as printed from the Leyden Codex (Voscianus Latin 94) reads thus: "Inter his diebus cum episcopus licentiam habuerit, et cui necesse fuerit, alio tempore suam confessionem ad episcopum vel alium sacerdotem (sacerdotem) cui episcopus decrevit facere quandocunque voluerit et opus habet faciat."

clearly that Confession in the middle of the eighth century was already a familiar institution and was regarded as a necessary preparation for the Holy Communion in the case of those who had sinned grievously. Dr. H. C. Lea, who finds this portion of the rule inconvenient, pretends, according to his wont, that it is a later interpolation (1). It has, however, been recently shown to belong to the earliest known redaction of the Rule of St. Chrodegang (2). The fact obviously harmonizes ill with the theory which would represent Confession as an engine of priestcraft devised at a later period to secure ecclesiastical dominion over the laity.

Finally it should be noticed that the use of some form of reconciliation is clearly supposed in the Penitential attributed to the Irish St. Columban (before A.D. 600). The authorship of this is disputed by some, *e.g.*, by Bishop Schmitz, but it is accepted as Columban's by such high authorities as Sebass and Hauck (3), while the document in any case seems to be of early date. The conferring of remission through "the prayer of the priest," or "the imposition of hands," is indicated in the clearest terms.

HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.,

—*The Tablet*, London, Eng.

(1) "History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences," vol. i. p. 188 note.

(2) See the "Regula Canoniorum S. Chrodegangi," Ed. W. W. Schmitz, pp. 10-11.

(3) We may note such phrases as "culpa illius per sacerdotem abstergetur" (B. 14); "et sic post satisfactionem iudicio sacerdotis jungatur altario" (B. 13); "et ita (after due penance) dimittatur illi sua culpa et sacerdos oret pro illo et sic jungatur altario" (B. 15); "et ita post manus impositionem Catholici episcopi altario jungatur" (B. 25). Sebass, "Zeitschrift f. Kirchengeschichte" XIV., pp. 444-446; Hauck, "Geschichte Deutschlands" I., p. 278.



The Practice of Confession in England Before the Norman Conquest



(Concluded)

III.

"SLOWLY, very slowly," Dr. Jessopp says, writing of the twelfth century, "the general confession of guiltiness and sinfulness, in which a whole congregation joined audibly, developed into the private confession to a priest, and this was first imposed upon all the faithful by the famous canon of the Lateran Council of 1216." If any doubt were left of the meaning of this bewildering statement, it would be dispelled by the more explicit utterances of Dr. Lea, who, after insisting repeatedly upon the failure of all clerical efforts to introduce confession and upon the "slender importance" attached to it (1), declares roundly that even in the eleventh century "confessions were rarely made save on the death-bed, or when some threatening danger warned the sinner to set his house in order and prepare to meet his God." (2)

It would be hard, I imagine, to find a more remarkable example than Dr. Lea's book offers of the powerlessness of evidence to convince a prejudiced man against his will. Whenever this American author comes upon a passage in which the people are exhorted to make their confession, he interprets it as an acknowledgment of the failure of all

(1) Lea, "History of Auricular Confession," I., p. 197.

(2) *Ib.* p. 196.

previous efforts to persuade them; whenever, on the other hand, he meets with any sort of pastoral instruction which does *not* introduce the subject of penance, he finds therein conclusive proof that the practice of confession was as yet unknown. His pages are loaded with scores of references, but the student who may have the patience to look them up in their context will find that not one in ten is capable of bearing the construction put upon it. (1) Not to dwell unduly upon this matter, it will be sufficient to point out that Dr. Lea's conclusions are in flat contradiction with those not only of Catholic, but of the most competent Protestant authorities. All who are in touch with contemporary historical research will be aware of the great weight attached by his co-religionists to the opinion of such a man as Professor Hauck. As a work of sober and solid learning his "*Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*" is held to be without a rival in all that concerns the ecclesiastical institutions of the early Middle Ages. Now, according to Dr. Hauck's view, the practice of confession

(1) It would require many articles to do justice to the misstatements of a single page. Merely as one example I take Dr. Lea's assertion about the famous Abbot Ælfric (c. 1000 A.D.), one of the most distinguished names in Anglo-Saxon literature. Dr. Lea says (I., p. 194): "Ælfric's Pastoral Epistle, minute and detailed as it is, seems to know of no confession save on the death-bed as a preparation for Extreme Unction." Now, in the first place, this same Pastoral Epistle explicitly enjoins that every priest should possess a Penitential or "shrift-book." The only use of the Penitential was to help him in hearing confessions. But apart from this, Ælfric's sermons and other writings abound in references to confession and in exhortations to his hearers to make their sins known to "God's priest," to whom power has been given to forgive sins. See, for instance, Ælfric's "*Homilies*," ed. Thorpe, vol. i., pp. 124, 164, 234, 370, 604, etc.

was already general in Ireland in the sixth century, and was thence introduced into Germany by St. Columban. Even as early as the year 600, the same writer, in spite of his Protestant standpoint, recognizes confession in Germany as a notable influence for good. "In the long run," he remarks, "the introduction of confession only led to a deeper degradation of the Christian life. Still it not unfrequently happens that what is ultimately harmful, is for the moment advantageous. When we consider the grievous evils from which public morality was suffering in the sixth century, it can hardly be doubted that the treatment of sins in confession after the Irish model was most salutary (*segensreich*). Here it was that the struggle against the prevalence of unrestrained license was energetically begun." (1)

Later on, speaking of the second half of the eighth century and ascribing the failure of the attempt to revive the old system of public penance, he remarks:

"All the more earnest were the efforts made to introduce the custom that every one should voluntarily come to confession. What Columban had once sighed after was now, in fact, generally expected of the devout faithful. Alcuin in particular was never wearied of recommending confession. He saw in it up to a certain point an earnest of forgiveness. 'Believe me,' he urged, 'every sin can be remitted, if only thou art not ashamed to acknowledge it. God demands from us the sacrifice of penance as a condition that He may gratuitously bestow in return the grace of forgiveness.' . . . It was not Alcuin's idea that the duty of confession concerned only monks and their scholars; every one, young or old, man or woman, in the

(4) Hauck, "Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands," vol. i. (3d ed. 1900), pp. 278-279.

cloister or out of it, was bound to confess his sins to the priest."

"The forms observed in confession," Dr. Hauck continues, "were in general simple enough. After Theodulph's time (c. 800) they began with a prayer said by the priest and his penitent together. Then followed the acknowledgment of his guilt on the part of the latter, aided, if necessary, by the questions of the priest. After this the penitent was required to say the *Credo*, to forgive those who had injured him, and to promise amendment. The confessor thereupon determined the time of penance, said the seven penitential psalms with certain prayers, and finally bestowed absolution." (1)

This presentment of the practice of confession in the early years of the ninth century puts the matter in a very different light from that favored by Dr. Jessopp in the extraordinary passage quoted at the beginning of this series of articles. I may add that the same view is accepted by Caspari, practically without any modification, in the new edition, still far from its completion, of Herzog's great Protestant Encyclopædia (2). Furthermore, Professor Hauck fully admits that confession, which, according to him, was in the time of Charlemagne merely a practice to be inculcated, "became in the course of the ninth century the established custom." and he adds that, after the preaching of the Word of God, confession was the most powerful means which the clergy possessed of exercising

(1) Hauck, "Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands," vol. ii. (2d ed. 1900), pp. 250-251.

(2) "Realencyclopädie f. Protestantischen Theologie und Kirche," (3d Edit.). Article "Beichte," by Caspari, vol. ii., p. 535.

a good influence upon the souls committed to their charge. (1)

If it should be urged that Dr. Hauck is speaking of Germany, not of England, I can only reply that it was from Englishmen like Willibrord, Boniface, and Alcuin, and from Irish missionaries like Columban and Gallus, that Germany learnt her Christianity. It is plain, too, that the Celtic influences which so profoundly affected Germany had been at work almost as early in England, and so far as direct evidence goes there is every reason to believe that confession as an institution was as fully developed in the latter country as in the former. The difficulty is not to find matter to quote, but to select judiciously among the abundant illustrations which present themselves. Let me appeal in the first place to the following passage of the Anglo-Saxon poet Cynewulf, who, according to the "Dictionary of National Biography," wrote about the year 750. The poet is describing the confusion of the wicked at the Day of Judgment. I borrow from Mr. Galloncz's most accurate translation:

There they abashed, o'erwhelmed with ignominy
 Shall wander giddily, bearing their evil deeds,
 The burden of their sins, whilst all folks gaze.
 'Twere better for them had they erst felt shame
 For each base deed and each transgression,
 For all their evil works, before one man (2)

(1) "Neben der Predigt diente die Beichte der seelsorgerlichen Einwirkung des Priesters auf die Gemeindeglieder. Gerade hier ist die Annahme berechtigt, dass was in Karls Zeit Forderung war, im Laufe des neunten Jahrhunderts herrschende Sitte wurde," (Hauck, "Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands," vol ii. [1900], p. 727.

(2) Surely this bears witness to the essential secrecy of confession from the beginning.

Telling God's servant (1) that too well they knew
Ill deeds within them. The confessor cannot look
Through the flesh into the soul, whether a man
Telleth truth or lie, when he his sins avoweth.
Nathless a wight can heal each noxious ill
Each unclean sin, if he tell it but to one (2)
And none may there conceal, on that stern day,
Guilt unamended; multitudes shall see it. (3)

Now the very terms in which this allusion is couched seem to me to prove conclusively that confession in the eighth century was no novelty, but an institution familiar to all men. The poet does not find it necessary to explain what he means by a confession (*script*); neither has he the tone of one who is imparting a newly-discovered recipe for obtaining remissions of sins. Moreover, he not only takes for granted the essential secrecy of confession, but he implies that the forgiveness depends upon the penitent's sincerity in making known all that was most hidden and shameful. In fine, every word which is there spoken by Cynewulf, the Northumbrian, the contemporary of Bede, might have been preached in a mission sermon in this year of grace 1905.

To say the truth, if I may record the general impression resulting from a good deal of reading given to this subject, I should be inclined to maintain that the practice of auricular confession, so far from being unfamiliar, seems

(1) *Bode*, this word means, I think, more strictly, ambassador, envoy, representative.

(2) Another indirect testimony to the secrecy of confession.

(3) Cynewulf's "Crist," Ed, Gollancz, II, 1297-1311.

to have taken quite a remarkable hold (1) upon the life of the Anglo-Saxon Church, and that, too, from its very commencement. There was no country in which we hear so much of those extraordinary books called "Penitentials," which in England were known as "shrift books," i.e., confession books, and which consist essentially of tables determining the proper penance to be assigned for every kind of sin. Of course I may be told that these were not used in connection with any system of private penance but only for public penance, but this is exactly what all competent authorities deny. There is not the least foundation for such an assertion, as a glance at the contents of these penitentials shows. Public penance was entirely in the hands of the bishop, but

(1) Let any one who doubts this, study a little the items contained in Wanley's Catalogue of extant Anglo-Saxon MSS. The number of writings directly or indirectly connected with confession is quite remarkable.

(2) I mean such men as Hauck, Wasserschleben, Schmitz, Fournier, Stubbs and others. It is true, of course, that many gross offences are included in the Penitentials which must almost necessarily have called for public penance, the offences being public of their own nature; but from the very earliest Celtic collections down to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when the use of Penitentials fell into desuetude, a large number of the delinquencies for which penance is prescribed are quite venial in character. See, for instance, the "*Pœnitentiale Cummeani*," which its latest editor Zettinger, in the "*Archiv für Katholisches Kirchenrecht*," 1902 (pp. 501-540), considers one of the earliest of all, and assigns to the early seventh century. Here the quarrels of children are included amongst the offences legislated for, and a proportionate penance is prescribed for them. I may note that I now fully accept Paul Fournier's theory, as against Bishop Schmitz, of the Celtic origin of the Penitential system. See "*Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses*," vols. vii., viii., ix., especially ix., pp. 101-103.

it was laid down as a matter of ecclesiastical law that every parish priest ought to possess a *script-boc*. It seems to me to be established beyond all possibility of cavil that from the time of Bede onwards (information fails us for an earlier date) auricular confession was practised habitually in every part of Christian Britain. I call it auricular confession because it was made in the ear of the priest, that is, secretly. It was a confession of sinful words and thoughts as well as of public crimes, and it was made in view of the imposition of penance by the priest, and ultimately of some form of absolution. Let me hasten to say that in many ways it differed considerably in its practical working from confession as we know it in the Catholic Church at the present day. Shrift made to a priest in Anglo-Saxon times was intended only for the remission of grievous sins, and by grievous sins they would not by any means necessarily understand quite what we understand by the term. These newly converted Saxons were rude and fierce, and many things would have seemed trivial in their eyes (drunkenness, for instance) which we should judge more severely. Again it is highly probable that, practically speaking, shrift was only administered at a few stated seasons; indeed, principally once a year at "Shrove" tide, the beginning of Lent; and it is highly probable that in those Lenten confessions the penitent, if he were not specially devout, had to wait for absolution or reconciliation until Maundy Thursday if not much longer. On the other hand, the people seem to have gone freely to housel (Holy Communion) throughout the year, without any thought of fresh confession. They were instructed that lesser sins could be forgiven by alms-deeds, by prayer, by confession to God in private, by confession to one another, or such public confession as we still retain, with its corres-

ponding absolution at the beginning of Mass and in certain parts of the Divine Office. Hence there seems generally to have been no formal provision at all for the Sacramental Confession of monks and nuns. They were not held to require it, except at their entry into the cloister, and as a matter of precaution and humiliation when they lay on their death-beds. They were supposed to have consecrated themselves to God and to have turned their backs on those grievous sins, which, by an equally rough and ready rule, were regarded as the common lot of people in the world. No doubt if a monk committed any more grievous secret sin he could find a priest to confess him, and would receive a severe penance, like any lay person, but then this was not a case provided for in the constitutions of the Order. What is more, I have no doubt that it was often a hard matter to induce the more gross and ignorant peasantry to make their shrift at the beginning of Lent and other stated times. The penances prescribed in the penitentials or shrift-books were astoundingly severe, as we should now judge such matters. A penance of seven years' fasting was enjoined for many things which we should expect to be of frequent occurrence in much more civilized peoples. How the matter worked out in practice it is not easy to say, but obviously such penances, if they were at all seriously enforced, were calculated to make wrongdoers procrastinate about presenting themselves before their confessors. Moreover, there can be no doubt that in some respects the point of view was different from ours. For us that which looms largest in the imagination of the intending penitent is the accusation. That is probably the reason why we speak of it as "going to confession," rather than "making our contrition" or "doing our satisfaction." To the penance which we are likely to receive we hardly

give a thought. But it was not so in the days before the Norman Conquest. It was the thought of the penance which made the sinner feel most uncomfortable, and that was the reason, if I mistake not, why it is called "shrift." *Scrift* in Anglo-Saxon is from the same root as the Latin *scribere*, to write. It meant simply the "prescription" which the spiritual physician, the "soul's leach," enjoined as necessary for a cure. The same word *scrift* is also used of the agent, the physician himself. A penitent was said to accuse himself to his *scrift*, i.e., to his own proper parish priest or confessor. Ordinarily this physician of souls deferred reconciliation until the prescription had been taken and he saw how it was working. Personally I am also strongly tempted to believe that the priest often waited until he had several of his penitents who had more or less finished their term of penance before him together, and then gave them one absolution in common, though probably first laying his hand and making the Sign of the Cross on the head of each separately. A similar economy of labor, as regards the preliminary prayers, was no doubt observed at the beginning of Lent, when there were many to make their confession at the same time. Let me admit also that, as already suggested in a previous article, the whole theology of the subject was very hazy. Many seem to have been uncertain whether the virtue of confession lay precisely in the performance of the long penance or in the reconciliation prayers of the priest (1), or in the

(1) The account of the reconciliation (A.D. 686) between Archbishop Theodore and St. Wilfrid (Eddius, cap. 43, in Raine, "York Historians," I. p. 61) either describes an actual confession—for it must be remembered that in view of death people often confessed publicly and to many priests together—or it is at least modelled on the practice then usually

contrition of the penitent. Still, teachers and taught alike were unanimous in regarding all these four things as integral parts of the penitential purification, and especially did they insist upon the necessity of some outward and significant act of reconciliation before the sinner could lawfully approach the Holy Mysteries.

But now, when all these differences between the practice of the Anglo-Saxon Church and that of the Church as we know it in our day have been allowed for, the fact remains that *shrift* was an integral part of the religious life of our forefathers, and that the principle was accepted by all without exception, that if a man was guilty of grievous sin, however secret, he could only obtain God's forgiveness by making it known to the priest and performing the penance which he should enjoin. Moreover the evidence seems to me to prove beyond question that the duty was recognized of making periodical confession—I speak always of people living in the world—once or oftener in the year, and that on the whole this obligation was complied with. Neither can there be any doubt that the people, in making their confession, were questioned about their sins of thought and word. "The duties of the office of confessor in the twelfth century," says Dr. Jessopp, "did not consist in extorting secrets from the penitent." The statement seems to me as astonishingly wide of the mark, as his assertion that private confession to a priest was first imposed by the Coun-

observed in Sacramental Confession. The form of accusation "Confiteor Domino et Sancto Petro apostolo," and the form of absolution "Det tibi Dominus et Sanctus Petrus remissionem omnis controversiæ commissæ, et ero pro tua confessione orans pro te amicus in perpetuum," seems to me particularly noteworthy.

cil of Lateran in 1216, or that before this time absolution was not given even in the precatory form.

It is impossible in the space left to me to offer very much in the way of proof to establish these conclusions. Material for such proof is abundant, but I must content myself with calling attention to certain points of the evidence which are of special significance.

Probably nothing more conclusively shows how largely confession entered into the religious life of our forefathers than a small fact of Anglo-Saxon philology. The ordinary word used in Anglo-Saxon to denote a parish was *scrift-scir*, i.e., "confession district," and in accordance with this we find that every man was supposed to have his own proper confessor, or *scrift*, i.e., his parish priest. For instance, in the secular laws of Ethelred we are told that "if a man be buried outside of his own proper parish (his *right scrift scir*) then the dues (the soul shot) must be paid to his own church to which he belonged." (1)

It would be easy to quote many such examples, and I venture to argue that a name which had so completely become part of the ecclesiastical organization of the country must have had some practical significance. Shrift cannot have been the phantom institution which Dr. Lea and others would represent it to have been.

It is necessary to be very concise, and so let us pass on to another point. This also is connected with the Anglo-

(1) Liebermann, "Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen," p. 240. An earlier instance of the word *scrift scir* may be found in a law passed under Athelstan (c. 930). Other examples are quoted in Toller-Bosworth's "Anglo-Saxon Dictionary." An Anglo-Saxon child was taught to pray for his father, his mother, and his *scrift* (confessor). Wulfstan's Homilies (Ed. Napier), p. 290.

Saxon secular code, and is a law passed under Edward the Elder, son of Alfred the Great, and afterwards renewed under King Cnut in this form:

"If a man who has committed crime worthy of death desire confession (*scrift spræce*—shrift speech) let it never be denied him, and if any man deny it him, let him make *bôt* for that to the King with a hundred and twenty shillings." (1)

If shrift was only a burden which was imposed by the clergy, why should it be secured to the poor criminal sentenced to death? Surely these merciful legislators believed that it was the necessary means of reconciliation with God, and there is, be it noticed, no mention of Communion. It is obvious that in such a case there could be no question of penance whether public or private.

What is more, these secular laws of our Anglo-Saxon monarchs prescribed frequent confession. Thus Ethelred:

"And let every Christian man do as is needful to him, let him strictly keep his Christianity and accustom himself frequently to shrift, and fearlessly declare his sins, and earnestly pray, as he may be instructed, and let every one who will understand his own need also prepare himself to go to housel at least thrice in the year, as is requisite for him." (2)

I may connect with this, which by no means stands alone, a passage in the famous Dialogues of Archbishop Egbert of York, which Haddan and Stubbs believe to be his genuine work, and consequently of the middle of the eighth century. "From the time of Pope Vitalian and

(1) Liebermann, "Gesetze," etc., p. 130 and cf. pp. 280, 382, 260, 262.

(2) *Ib.* "Gesetze," etc., p. 242.

Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, the custom, thanks be to God, has become established in the English Church, and was regarded as having force of law (*quasi legitima habebatur*) that not only clerics in monasteries, but also laymen with their wives and children, should betake them to their confessors (*ad confessores suos* this most significant pronoun should be noted—each man had his own *scrift*, i.e., confessor or parish priest), and by tears and the mortification of carnal concupiscence, along with the bestowal of alms, should purify themselves during these twelve days, in order that they might the more stainlessly partake of the Lord's Communion on Christmas Day." (1)

It is imposible to do more than mention Alcuin's many famous utterances about confession. The most noteworthy point is the fact that, when writing to certain missionaries among the Goths whose lay-folk "were unwilling to make their confession to priests"—priests, he says, whom "we believe to have received the holy apostles' power from Christ to bind and to loose"—Alcuin treats their reluctance as simply heretical. "Do not," he tells them, "create new schisms (*sectas*) in the Catholic faith. Beware of the poisonous leaven of heretical corruption." (2)

Another striking testimony of the prevalence of confession is to be found in the *Beicht-formeln*, the forms of accusation, of which so many specimens in Latin, German and Anglo-Saxon are still preserved to us. Out of the fifty documents which Müllenhoff and Scherer

(1) Hadden and Stubbs "Concilia," vol. iii., p. 413. The phrase "his scrift," his confessor, occurs frequently in the Anglo-Saxon laws in reference to various offenders.

(2) Alcuin "Monumenta Germaniae Historica," Epistolæ, iv. p. 217.

have printed in their "Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa," to illustrate the earliest prose developments of the German language, no less than twenty-one are forms of accusation for confession. (1) Such formulæ, says Müllenhoff, "were used in innumerable churches in Germany" (2) and he attributes the earliest of these to a period shortly after the conversion of the Saxon tribes to Christianity. Amongst the earliest Latin specimens must probably be reckoned those found in the Book of Cerne, a manuscript now at Cambridge, which was in the possession of Æthelwold, Bishop of Lichfield, before the year 830. There are also others printed among the works of Alcuin. How can we possibly suppose that such abundant remains should survive, if the effort to introduce confession, as Dr. Lea contends, was a failure, and the practice of it was limited to the death-bed?

Lastly, with regard to the integrity of the accusation of sins, the evidence is simply overwhelming. All the instructions from the very earliest times insist that the priest is to question the penitent closely about matters of thought as well as of act—*ipsum cor pœnitentis curiose discernet*, he must fathom the very heart of the penitent, says the Penitential ascribed to Bede. (3) The "Pœnitentiale Pseudo-Bedæ," printed by Wasserschleben from a MS. of the ninth century, suggests thirty-four ques-

(1) These forms, some of which are rather distressingly complete in their enumeration of every possible kind of sin, were probably intended to aid the penitent in much the same way as a modern examination of conscience. He was to omit, as a rubric in an Anglo-Saxon manuscript (Tiberius, A. iii. fol. 42) explicitly states, the items which did not suit his case.

(2) Müllenhoff, "Denkmäler," vol. ii., pp. 377 and 380.

(3) Haddan and Stubbs, "Concilia," vol. iii., p. 327.

tions which a confessor may suitably put, of which the first is: "Hast thou been guilty of homicide? Was it by accident or of set purpose? Was it to avenge thy family, or at the order of thy master or in public war? Or didst thou wish to kill but wert unable?" (1) I am not quite sure what Dr. Jessopp may understand by "extorting secrets from the penitent," but I should have thought that this went pretty near it. The man who wished to commit a murder but was not able to effect his purpose presumably sinned only in thought. None the less he is to be questioned about it, and is expected to admit his guilt. (2)

I cannot better conclude this long article than by quoting a passage from a Latin preface attributed, no doubt erroneously, to St. Jerome, but found prefixed to many copies of an Anglo-Saxon instruction on confession:

"When anyone would make confession of his sins, let him play a manly part and not be ashamed to confess by accusing himself of his crimes and misdeeds, because from this cometh remission, and because without confession pardon cannot be had (*sine confessione nulla est venia*) for it is confession that heals, confession that justifies, confession that bestows forgiveness of sins."

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The Tablet.

(1) Wasserscheleben, "Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche," p. 253; Schmitz, l.c., p. 681.

(2) The Anglo-Saxon homilies insist again and again upon a full and entire account being given to the confessor, however shameful the sin may be, or however hard to speak of. See particularly the instruction for confession printed among the works of Wulfstan (ed. Napier) p. 291. Cf. p. 238 and p. 150. "Blickling Homilies," p. 193. Minge, "P.L." 97, p. 878. "A man," says another preacher (Assmann, "Angelsächsische Homilien," p. 141) "must accuse himself of all he has done in thought, or in word, or in deed."

Who Started the Spy System in France?



IN the *Paris Journal* of February 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18, 1905, M. Jacques Dhur published a series of articles explaining the origin and development of the spying scheme devised by General André, Minister of War, and by General Percin, the head of his Cabinet. The information was furnished by the Grand-Orient of France. Captain Mollin having declared in a letter published in the *Journal* of February 19, that M. Jacques Dhur was "the faithful interpreter of his thought," we here reproduce long extracts from these documents.

First of all M. Dhur relates that in the month of November Captain Mollin, orderly officer under the former Minister of War, came and asked him to "settle a question of history" and that he talked at two different meetings, "lasting about fifteen hours by the clock," basing his statements on accredited documents.

"When," said he to me, "two days after the resignation of General André, M. Combes, President of the Council, ascribed to me the paternity of the spy system, he did so in such terms that I felt my honor assailed and, on the following day I asked to appear before a court of inquiry, and here is my proof."

So saying, Captain Mollin handed me a copy of the letter he had addressed to the Minister of War.

Paris, November 19, 1904.

Captain Mollin, Ex-Orderly Officer of the Minister of War, to the Minister of War.

At the meeting of November 17, 1904, the President of the Council alluded to me as follows:

"Because an orderly officer has conceived and invented a detestable system of spying, should the responsibility therefore be visited upon those who have been involuntarily deceived by him?" . . .

I could not let these words go without violently protesting against the rôle they impute to me: having acted only by order of my superior officers.

Be so good, therefore, as to suspend any decision regarding the resignation that was exacted of me on account of a so-called superior interest, and summon me before a court of inquiry that the truth may be established.

I hope, Sir, that you will be glad to give an officer the means of safeguarding his honor and spare him the painful necessity of seeking such means himself.

Signed: CAPTAIN MOLLIN.

And Captain Mollin explained to me the way this letter was delivered. He himself took it to the War Office at ten minutes past four in the afternoon and, in the presence of Lieutenant of the Man-of-War *Violette*, gave it to Captain Riberpray, the officer on duty, who straightway transmitted it to Colonel—now General—Valabrègue, head of the Military Cabinet. The Colonel took note of it and sent it up to the Minister, M. Berteaux.

Next Captain Mollin engaged the services of a lawyer to defend him before the court of inquiry, choosing the eminent M. Albert Clemenceau, and then went home and devoted part of the night and all of the next day to drawing up a justificatory memorandum.

At seven in the evening he was still writing, when one of his friends, a commanding officer, came to see him.

"I learned at the office," said he, "that a letter will be sent to you requesting your resignation."

"And," added the Captain, "this news, if it was to turn out true, was a terrible shock to me. No longer an officer, I could not appear before a court of inquiry and exonerate myself. And the blow was all the more severe as, after the departure of General André, I had firmly hoped that the government would return my letter of resignation, as my loyalty to the Republic was my sole reason for leaving the army. I withdrew in order to prevent the Minister's resignation; assumed the responsibility of the act to avert that. From the moment that he resigned it was but reasonable that they should retain me."

Then, as if beset by some painful memory, the Captain continued:

"It was a long time before I could admit the possibility of what my friend had told me and at length I fled to my family, seeking in their affection a little consolation.

"I returned at midnight and then, through this letter, the fatal news was confirmed:"

WAR DEPARTMENT.
INFANTRY DIVISION.
Office of the Staff.
No. 6450.

FRENCH REPUBLIC.

* Paris, November 19, 1904.

The Minister of War to Captain Mollin of the 5th Regiment of Infantry, on Furlough, 148 Rue de la Pompe, Paris.

By a decision rendered on the 15th of the current month of November, the President of the Republic has accepted your resignation.

I have notified the Commander-in-Chief of the Third Body of Troops of this decision, and also the Military Governor of Paris, whom I likewise charge with personally serving this letter on you.

For the Minister of War and by his order,
The Director-General of Infantry,
C. CASTEX.

The reading of the document finished, the Captain observed:

"Rather odd, the manner in which I received this notification. First of all, though probably written during the day, General Castex's letter reached me at only eleven o'clock at night. Moreover, it was brought by a bicyclist, all of which was most unconventional. Apparently they had demurred about sending it to me. . . . On the other hand, according to the document, the decision had been reached on the 15th and I had only been acquainted with it on the 19th, the day after my protestation against the remarks of M. Combes! . . . Besides, on the day previous, when I went to the War Office, no one had informed me of this serious measure.

. . . But, on all these mysterious points light will be thrown in proportion as the reverse side of this political drama is brought to view." . . .

" . . . When and how was this spying scheme organized?" said Captain Mollin, repeating the question I had put to him, and then, proceeding to make clear to me the origin and machinations of this odious system, he spoke deliberately and calmly.

" . . . General André had suppressed the classification committees, and himself made out the promotion lists. He maintained that all applicants receiving the best marks from their commanders were equally deserving from a military point of view, and that those should be favored whose political rectitude was beyond reproach: hence the necessity of being informed.

Even prior to becoming Minister of War, General André, who ambitioned the position, had begun to enlighten himself as to the opinions professed by the field officers and had registered the obtained information under two separate headings which, out of regard for the classics, he called respectively Corinth and Carthage, the former being the list of officers to be advanced and the latter that of those to be set aside.

On taking possession of the portfolio of war he confided Corinth and Carthage to General Percin, the head of his Military Cabinet, ordering that gentleman to continue and complete the investigation which he himself had begun. General Percin appealed to the *Sûreté Générale*, but work on the promotion list of 1900 showed the inadequacy of this source of information, so, after mature consideration, he and General André finally decided to have recourse to the Republican Associations.

Captain Mollin was connected with the Cabinet in the capacity of orderly officer, and one day General Percin said to him: "It seems that you're a Mason. . . . Couldn't the lodges give us some *hints* as to the opinions held by the field officers?" "Perhaps," evasively replied the Captain, "I shall speak to Senator Desmons about it."

Some days later M. Desmons came to the War Department, and when Captain Mollin made known to him General Percin's wish, the Senator showed no surprise, as a circular of the Council of the Order, dated 1892, recommended the lodges to inquire into the republican loyalty of office holders and, during his ministry, Gambetta had utilized information gathered by the Masons.

"Go to see M. Vadecard, Secretary-General of the Grand-Orient," was the Senator's advice to Captain Mollin.

And, hearing of it, General Percin said laughingly to M. Desmons:

"One of these days the Minister and I will become Free Masons. . . ."

Therefore Captain Mollin went to the Grand-Orient and saw M. Vadecard and was then given special charge of the spying system by General Percin, who duly installed him.

So great a value did the general set upon the organiza-

tion he had just created that he established Captain Mollin in the large room of the War Office where were the portraits of all the titular ministers of the portfolio and, the more easily to communicate with him, caused a condemned door to be opened, one which since the time of Lonvois had never swung upon its hinges. Thus the desks of the head of the Cabinet and the captain were almost adjoining. A soldier secretary was placed at Captain Mollin's immediate service and a screen was set up to shield them from the gaze of the curious.

General Percin would come to the office at six in the morning, then ride horseback in the Bois and return about eleven, invariably taking from his pocket notes and information slips doubtless communicated to him—as to certain fabulous heroes of old—by some mysterious water-sprite of the lakes or cascades or some wood-nymph of the Bois de Boulogne, eager to collaborate on the promotion list. . . . These written *hints* he would either transmit to Captain Mollin or place in a pigeon-hole on the left of his desk and, after classifying them, the captain would hand them over to his superior officer who, zealously guarding the treasures, tucked them carefully away in the drawers of his table. . . . However, one day during the summer of 1902 he noticed that, despite his vigilance, some of the slips had disappeared. Some one knew his secret and might divulge it, so he purchased a safe from Fichet, and to it the precious papers were consigned. . . .

But, from that day forward, General Percin modified his attitude. He suppressed the title of private secretary which he had given to Captain Mollin without, however, restricting his functions, and he himself continued to supervise the elaborations of the informers' bulletins.

Nevertheless, under date of November 3, 1904, the *Figaro* had it that "disgusted with the importance given

to the Masonic information and the spying of Captain Mollin," toward the end of 1902 General Percin had "acknowledged to M. Waldeck Rousseau, the ignominy of the detective-like proceedings of the Minister of War."

However, after his visit to M. Waldeck Rousseau, General Percin continued actively to collaborate in the very proceedings that he had so vehemently denounced.

Not only did he receive information from all sides, but he actually copied it out, and set it up in form, Captain Mollin having only to transcribe it. More than a year after General Percin had expressed his indignation to M. Waldeck Rousseau, that is to say, on February 16, 1904, he transmitted to his subordinates the following note, of which the *Journal* gives the *fac-simile*:

CAPTAIN MOLLIN:

N— states that Captain Guibert (P— M— A—), put on the list, is no good. Take note.

GENERAL PERCIN.

February 16, 1904.

Moreover, it is undeniable that General Percin attached the greatest value to information obtained from the Grand-Orient. Read, for instance, these closing lines of a long letter which he wrote to M. Vadecard:

WAR DEPARTMENT.
MINISTER'S OFFICE.

FRENCH REPUBLIC.
(Visa du Grand-Orient de France.)
January 20, 1902.
No. 884.
Paris, January 18, 1902.

I wish, dear Sir, that you would ask me forty practicable things rather than one that is impracticable. I would be most happy to testify my gratitude for the services you have rendered us and to prove my affectionate devotion.

GENERAL PERCIN.

But the occasion had already presented itself for the General "to testify his gratitude" to M. Vadecard.

The Secretary-General of the Grand-Orient had been summoned to a course of military instruction, and General Percin had given orders necessary to insure M. Vadecard's connection with the Office of the Minister of War, in the capacity of assistant secretary.

In fact he had profited by that gentleman's sojourn in the offices of the Rue Saint Dominique to extend the scope of the spying scheme. Therefore such information as could be gathered by the lodges was confined to field officers only and had not included captains, and it was General Percin who asked M. Vadecard to furnish him data in regard to all officers down to lieutenants inclusively.

Now, what the result of the General's request may have been, Captain Mollin does not know, but from an investigation which I made, it would seem that General Percin must have further importuned for the extension of the spy system because, somewhere in the War Office—in the safe, if I have been accurately advised, and I know that I have—there is the pencil-copy of a letter from the former head of the Military Cabinet, begging that his request be brought before the Council of the Order of the Grand-Orient.

The relations between General Percin and the Grand-Orient were, as we see, most cordial, but at length, clouds gathered. . . . One day an officer recommended to the Minister of War by M. Vadecard—and to whom satisfaction had already been given—was *scratched* by General Percin. Was it because he had been patronized by the lodges? So it was supposed; therefore indignation prevailed in the Rue Cadet and the Secretary-General wrote in haste to Captain Mollin:

Extract from copy letter of the
Grand-Orient of France.

No. 300, Folio 37.

Paris, June 22, 1902.

MY DEAR MOLLIN:

On the 20th of March last I asked you to please interest yourself in Captain — of the 130th Regiment of Infantry at Mayenne, who wished to be named to the 1st Regiment of Zouaves at Algiers.

. . . He was recommended to us by our friend Corneau, director of the *Petit Ardennais* at Charleville.

I do not remember whether you answered me on the subject, but that is of no consequence now.

Here is what our friend Corneau writes me to-day:

"Our recommendation in favor of Captain —, who asked to go to Algeria, has drawn upon him the blame of General Percin, who begged him never again to bring foreign influence to bear upon the army. Can anything be done in regard to this reprimand?"

I must confess that I do not understand the situation. General Percin has always been friendly to us. Could his sincerity have been abused?

If our recommendations are detrimental to the republican officers, we will refrain from giving them . . . I do not make a personal business of acquiring a popularity. That would raise me above my fellow-citizens, but a day will come when the Republic will have no trouble in recognizing its true servants, that is to say, those who will have served it with fidelity, devotion and disinterestedness.

Yours sincerely,

Signed: VADECARD.

Captain Mollin made known M. Vadecard's grievances to General Percin and laid the letter before him. . . . It was not addressed to the General personally, nevertheless he at once sought to dissipate the misunderstanding and the reply is worth reading in full.

WAR DEPARTMENT.
MINISTER'S OFFICE.

FRENCH REPUBLIC.
(Visa du Grand-Orient de France.)

June 24, 1902.

No. 8433.

Paris, June 23, 1902.

DEAR SIR:

It was on your recommendation, and yours only, that I had Captain — listed for the second vacancy among the Zouaves of Algiers. If, therefore, I have scratched him, it was not because he was recommended by you. On the contrary, it was because your support seemed to him insufficient that he sought to be recommended by two other persons, one of whose ideas are totally different from yours and mine. These incessant applications call for a reply and consequently are a useless drain upon my time; therefore, I invited Captain — not to renew them. But my invitation has brought about quite the opposite result to what I had intended, since it obliges me to write still another letter. However, I shall not complain as it also gives me the opportunity of renewing the assurance of my affectionate and sincere regard for you.

GENERAL PERCIN.

It is then an established fact that General Percin was the leader of the odious spy business which he and General André instituted and when, before M. Waldeck Rousseau, he deplored "in disgust" the singular method in vogue in the Rue Saine Dominique, he did not speak like the poet's warrior, "a soldier who could ill disguise the truth."

M. Dhur asserts that Captain Mollin was only an instrument.

. . . On different occasions Captain Mollin had to leave Paris and the first time he absented himself for four days. Before his departure it was arranged with General Percin that M. Vadecard would continue to address all his information to the captain, and the office boy was instructed to take from the morning's mail all blue envelopes bearing the superscription: "Captain Mollin, Per-

sonal," and bring them directly to the General. They were the letters from the Grand-Orient.

Again the captain left Paris, but for a longer period, and General Percin begged him to designate an officer to replace him. "For," said he, "your duties can only be entrusted to a confidential man." Captain Mollin specified Captain Lemerle, orderly officer to General Reignery at La Rochelle, and he was summoned at once to the Rue Saint Dominique.

Material proofs of Captain Lemerle's collaboration exist, but such collaboration has nevertheless been denied. One of the most flagrant of these proofs is contained in certain of the famous documents stolen in 1902 and reproduced in *fac-simile* by the *Figaro*. Thus document No. 232 (artillery)—indicating the author of the information—has several annotations and, in the best of faith, our excellent contemporary states that "Captain Mollin annotated the denunciatory information and in his petulant handwriting added the words: "Very bad, etc."

But the "petulant" handwriting that the from-time-to-time collaborator of the *Figaro*, imprudently assuming the rôle of graphologist, attributes to Captain Mollin, is really that of Captain Lemerle. And the same holds for documents 873 and 878 published by the *Figaro*.

During the captain's absence demands for information continued to pour into the Rue Cadet, and here is another appeal addressed to the Grand-Orient by Captain Lemerle during his sojourn in the office:

WAR DEPARTMENT.
MINISTER'S OFFICE.

(Visa du Grand-Orient de France.)

December 17, 1901.

No. 11762.

Have information as soon as possible about Captains Mathieu, Renard, Savatier and Septans.

All in camp at Sathonay.

Indeed it was Captain Lemerle who, under the supervision and direction of the Military Cabinet, worked on the promotion list in 1901 and, apropos of this, the General, when in good humor, was wont to tell an amusing anecdote.

Returning to the office one evening after dinner, he heard a woman's voice issuing from the large parlor in which Captain Lemerle was at work. He listened and heard officers' names called. Utterly perplexed he went in and there found Mme. Lemerle collaborating with her husband. She read the slips and the captain translated on the *K* list, the indications given by a certain approved sign. This incident greatly amused the General. . . .

In July and August of the following year, 1902, Captain Mollin took his annual holiday, being replaced by Lieutenant Violette. Undoubtedly this officer worked according to the orders of General Percin as, on July 27, he solicited information from the Grand-Orient concerning Captain Lemerle of the 39th Regiment of Artillery at Toul. Here is the burden of the letter:

WAR DEPARTMENT.
MINISTER'S OFFICE.

July 23, 1902.
(Visa du Grand-Orient de France.)
July 24, 1902.
No. 9898.

T. C. F. VADECARD:

I have the fav. of asking you for a notice of the person indicated on the margin.

Frat. and affectionatly yours,

VIOLETTE.

And the former orderly officer of the Minister of War has placed before me numerous other documents which can leave no doubt as to the pure passiveness of the rôle of the officers successively charged with the spy system. They simply obeyed orders. Whenever Captain Mollin

would leave Paris he was immediately replaced and the intriguing was thus carried on without a moment's interruption. The head was ever the same, it was only the arm that changed.

Captain Mollin strictly observed orders and so true was this that he even withstood Commander Pasquier, who came to the office in the absence of General Percin and wished to give the captain some items.

"Give them to General Percin," protested the captain, "or else send them through the Grand-Orient. I am not authorized to receive any information first hand."

If I have been duly acquainted with the case, Commander Pasquier brought notes to the head of the Military Cabinet quite frequently, and General Percin considered that thereby he rendered an important service to the country and to Free Masonry. This is proven by a card which one day, in the absence of Captain Mollin, he dictated to a soldier secretary and addressed to M. Vadecard:

VISITING CARD.

(Visa du Grand-Orient de France.)

March 10, 1902.

No. 3768.

GENERAL PERCIN,

Head of the Office of the Minister of War.

14 Rue Saint Dominique,

Paris.

is happy to inform M. Vadecard that the Minister has inscribed Commander Pasquier's name on the list of contestants for the officer's cross of the Legion of Honor.

Hence it can be seen that General Percin was not always an ingrate. . . .

But one day it came to pass that General Percin left his post as head of the Military Cabinet and was given command of a division at Paris. He was replaced in the War Office by Colonel, now General, Valabrègue.

. . . Then soon came the crusade against this spy-

ing and from the time that the first insinuations were heard—vague thoughts they were—and when Captain Mollin was ordered to take away from the War Office every trace of the ignominious methods that had prevailed, anxiety reigned supreme in the Rue Saint Dominique.

When the shades of night had closed over the city, the captain opened the safe containing the precious documents and, with the aid of Lieutenant Violette, the officer on duty, packed them into government portmanteaux. Then, mysteriously, as if carrying one of the roles of *Angelo, Tyrant of Padua*, he crept along, hugging the wall, in search of a discreet, rapid hackman. At length he and Lieutenant Violette placed the cases in a coach, which was soon speeding on its way toward the Rue de la Pompe, where the captain resided; and from that time forward, silent figures hovered around the abode of the officer entrusted with the care of the compromising treasure, an honor which he would gladly have declined. And meanwhile who was protecting the protector of the informers' slips. *Quis custodiet custodem.* . . .

. . . But accusations were becoming more direct and General André's enemies were better armed than had first been supposed in the Rue Saint Dominique. It became absolutely impossible to deny the existence of the informing system, therefore the next best thing was to attempt its justification. A high and mighty political personage was sent for, one with whom General André had conferred upon different occasions concerning the knowledge of the political attitude of the officers, ascertained through the vigilance of the lodges,—for General André realized that ninety times out of a hundred the information furnished by the Free Masons was exact—and, in conjunction with this political personage, the Minister

sketched the outlines of a discourse that he was to deliver in reply to questions which he apprehended at the meeting of October 28.

On the morning of that memorable day the *Figaro* began the publication of the documents stolen in 1902 from a drawer in General Percin's desk and, in the afternoon, the revelations of M. Guyot de Villeneuve burst like a thunder-clap from the Palais-Bourbon.

On that day General André was wonderfully equipped for phasing the tribunal, as he had four different discourses up his sleeve, the terms of each having been duly weighed and measured. The first related to the incidents of Saint Cyr; the second dealt with facts of a more general order exposed by a morning paper; the third concerned the Cuignet affair, and the fourth was the speech to be made in justification of the informers' methods. . . . But during the course of the session some friends came into the Ministers' benches and reported stray bits of rumor afloat in the lobbies. The intervention of a number of the minority, formidably armed with documents, had already been suspected and, when about to open his speech, the General trembled like a young soldier at first sight of battle. Indeed so disconcerted was he that, when answering Colonel Rousset concerning the incidents of Saint Cyr, he lost the thread of his discourse and uttered the following words, which henceforth must remain famous:

" . . . Lieutenant—but, gentlemen, I shall not mention his name, as names should not be given on the rostrum. . . ."

Then, after a painful hesitation and a feverish search up his sleeve, he resumed:

" . . . As I was saying, gentlemen, Lieutenant Lartigue. . . ."

Later during the same session, when he had to mount the rostrum again and reply to M. Guyot de Villeneuve, he completely forgot that he had a discourse prepared. . . . He confined himself to a miserable improvisation, asserting that he had had nothing to do with the informers' scheme and censuring it most vehemently.

If this statement astounded the deputies, it fairly stupefied the soldier-secretaries of the War Office who had spent hours and hours deciphering and copying the Minister's erratic penmanship badly blurred by erasures.

. . . He denied all knowledge of Corinth and Carthage, the very system he had inaugurated and which had been further developed by General Percin.

Later on, in an interview, he remembered that the number of informers' slips he received had not exceeded thirty or forty, but his memory had certainly played him false, because it is possible to prove that for the drawing up of the promotion list of 1904, alone, General André had gleaned information from 3,000 slips.

.
On October 29, the day following that memorable one, Captain Mollin called on the Minister, who wished to see him. It was about 8 o'clock in the morning.

General André was depressed and worried, but in no way hostile. He seemed harassed by some dominating thought.

"I am compromised," he said at last. "We are all compromised. . . . You will have to return to your regiment."

Like a well-disciplined soldier Captain Mollin bowed, determined to join his regiment, the 5th Infantry, lodged in the Paris barracks, as soon as he would have received official confirmation of the order.

In the meanwhile Colonel Valabrègue had assembled all the officers of the Cabinet and had said to them:

"Gentlemen, you know that Mollin merely acted on the orders he received, and now that he is the victim of this injustice, it were indeed deplorable for us to treat him with indifference. It is our duty to extend him the solace of our affection and support."

Then sending for the captain, he told him that he had chosen his friend, Commander Coste, to replace him. "Transmit your duties to him," he added, "but be in no haste, and let us hope that things will turn out all right."

Somewhat cheered by these evidences of sympathy, Captain Mollin prepared to execute the instructions given him, but during the day the Ministers met in council and that evening about four-thirty Colonel Valabrègue sent for him. M. Gros, leader of the Civil Cabinet, was present. . . .

"Mollin," said the colonel, as soon as the captain appeared, "I have very sad news for you from General André. I give it because I am under orders to that effect, but I admit that you are treated with great injustice. . . ." Then, hesitatingly he proceeded:

"The Minister commissions me to tell you that you must hand in your resignation. The President of the Council has volunteered to find some compensation for you within three months. . . ."

Here M. Gros helped out with:

"And should the President of the Council fall he would mention you in his political will, and a new Minister has never been known to disregard the decision of his predecessor."

Prostrated by the blow, the captain murmured a protestation, but the colonel kindly repeated:

"Yes, it is an injustice. But go up to the Minister, he'll talk for himself."

Slowly Captain Mollin mounted the stairs leading to General Andre's office, and as soon as he entered the Minister's presence he was struck by the complete transformation the man had undergone since the morning's interview.

He was restlessly pacing the room and nervously shrugging his shoulders and disconnected words fell from his lips. Suddenly facing the captain he said abruptly:

"Mollin, I must have your resignation."

The officer started and stammered:

"General . . . I am ready for any sacrifice . . . but this one is too great . . . too unjust . . . I cannot . . . No . . . I cannot consent to it."

Then the General tried persuasive measures. . . .

"Come, courage!" he urged. "After all one must be equal to emergencies and not hesitate to sacrifice one's self. Come, sit down here at my desk and write and you'll save everybody."

And at intervals he repeated:

"Yes, everybody . . . You'll save everybody!"

But Captain Mollin resisted and stood there erect, pale, resolute.

"It's impossible . . . General . . . impossible . . ." he exclaimed, with an emphatic gesture.

Then, in a voice hoarse with suppressed anger, the General threatened:

"Resign, Mollin . . . or else it will be the court of inquiry with all its consequences . . . yes, the court of inquiry. . . ."

"Willingly would I accept the court of inquiry," replied the captain. "Officers could not condemn me for having fulfilled a mission enjoined upon me."

There was silence, and then, despondently the General murmured:

"So you refuse to resign? . . . I would not have believed it." Then, tenderly he urged:

"Were I in your place, I'd resign. Come, courage!" and he seemed so troubled, so completely crushed, that Captain Mollin thought it well to temporize.

"Give me twenty-four hours, General;" he pleaded. "I'll consult with my family. I'll leave to-night and come back to Paris to-morrow night. If they advise it, I promise to bring you my resignation upon my return. . . ."

But the Minister obstinately refused and clung to his idea with leech-like tenacity.

"No, . . . resign, . . . resign . . . Your family cannot understand the situation. I must have your resignation at once; M. Combes wants it to appear in this evening's papers." Then he repeated: "But come, courage! . . . You'll save us all! . . ."

"Let me at least consult my wife;" implored the captain.

"What's the use? . . . However, if you must consult some one, go see Brisson; he just left here. Go quickly and come back. . . ."

And again the General began to stride about his office.

Captain Mollin hastened at once to the office of the President of the Chamber, but M. Brisson was not there, so he went for a walk; but in vain he sought a guide, a trustworthy friend. . . . There was none whom he could see immediately . . . and in a frenzy he returned to the Rue Saint Dominique.

"Well, what did Brisson say?" anxiously inquired the Minister.

The captain explained that he had been unable to meet him.

"But, General, will you not wait?"

"To what purpose? . . . Hand in your resigna-

tion; for the last time I advise it. I repeat that it must be done in the interest of all. I want it to appear in to-night's papers. . . . I wish it, positively! . . ."

And suddenly overcome by sheer vexation, the blood rushed to his face.

Captain Mollin was seated before the Minister's desk. He no longer felt the strength to resist and finally, at his wits' ends, he wrote the letter demanded of him. . . . But his agony was intense; his throat was bursting with sobs and his eyes were blinded by tears.

In front of him stood General André, sighing and disconsolate.

"I'm like a sick man," he whined, "who must have one limb amputated that the rest of his body might be saved! . . ."

And then a volley of incoherent words escaped him, wails, regrets, supplications. . . .

. . . But when the deed was done, when the officer had signed the fatal document that must close his military career, the feigned emotion disappeared from the General's distorted features, as a poorly adjusted mask would drop from an actor's face, and his countenance once more became cold and hard.

He picked up the coveted letter and then put one brief question:

"What about the slips?"

But the captain was crushed, beaten down as if with a club. Suddenly things appeared to him in a new, an awful light.

Meanwhile, in his haste to dismiss the matter, the Minister grew impatient and again he violently demanded:

"What about the *slips*? Go get them! . . ."

The comedy was played. The Minister of War had the document which he thought would save him—though

it cost Captain Mollin's fall—and he pronounced the *væ victis*

But the captain told the General that the *slips* were no longer in the War Office, that he had taken them home and thence to the house of a friend.

"Go get them at once and be back by six o'clock," commanded the General.

Captain Mollin set out from the Rue Saint Dominique to execute the General's orders and soon met Senators Desmons and Delpech, to whom he related what had just occurred. Both were highly indignant and hastily sought General André, whom M. Delpech upbraided in lively terms for having extorted Captain Mollin's resignation from him.

"I promise you," repeated the Minister, "that within three months the President of the Council will give Captain Mollin some compensation."

Calmed to an extent by this assurance the Senators left the Minister and the captain proceeded to get the portmanteaux containing the *slips* gathered by Generals André and Percin, or collected by him according to their orders.

He soon returned to the office and General André called in a comptroller; then, assisted by Captain Mollin, he piled the compromising papers into the open fireplaces in his own office and in the directors' meeting-room and set a match to them. But the soot that had adhered to the chimney wall caught fire from the sparks and firemen had to be summoned from a neighboring engine house.

Afterward, crestfallen and disheartened, the captain went home.

Several days intervened, and before the session of November 4th Captain Mollin was called to the War Of-

fice, and this time it was the assistant chief of the Cabinet who received him and put the following query:

"How were you led to seek information from the Grand-Orient?"

The captain hesitated and asked time for reflection. He did not wish to compromise Generals André and Percin, so he consulted his friends, Commander Coste and Lieutenant Violette as to the framing of a reply, and all three agreed upon the following text:

"After the work on the promotion list of 1900-1901 and the difficulty experienced in determining the political character of the candidates, *I was authorized* to ask information from the Grand-Orient."

The famous session of November 4th took place and M. M. André and Combes attacked Captain Mollin with all their might and main, and upon reading in the *Official* of November 5th what alluded particularly to himself, the captain was greatly incensed. The following day he protested most vigorously in a letter to General André. . . .

On November 7th General André summoned his former orderly officer. "He will be at Captain Mollin's disposal for the entire day;" said Major Labit's note, the major being on duty that day at the Rue Saint Dominique. The captain presented himself at the Minister's office.

"Your letter gave me great pain," said the General. "In defiance of my colleagues I uttered the words whereby I acknowledged that you had been authorized to solicit and receive information. Some deputies in the group on the left democratic flank declared that they would not vote for the government if it were admitted that the spy system had been authorized."

"My letter was but a natural outburst of just resentment . . ." protested the captain, "and you may tear

it up, or burn it, as you will . . . only give me back my letter of resignation."

"Go home and neither talk nor stir," said the Minister, "but wait!"

Then he wrote to Colonel Fouquart of the 5th and begged him to consider Captain Mollin as on a thirty days' furlough.

Perhaps just then they intended returning the captain's letter of resignation, but at the session of November 17th M. Combes renewed the charge and violently attacked Captain Mollin.

On the 18th, when M. Lafferre protested against the injustice of M. Combes' accusations, the President of the Council replied:

"I assure you that I was ignorant of the truth;" and he punctuated his remark with gestures significant of utter astonishment.

That same day M. Jaurès complained in like manner.

"But I only knew the truth this morning," reasserted M. Combes, "and it was Lafferre who acquainted me with it. . . ."

On this very date, November 18th, Captain Mollin asked to be summoned before a court of inquiry and the reply he received next day is well known. Captain Mollin was and was to remain—a scape-goat.

Questions Actuelles.

Translated by Katherine A. Hennessy.





The Teaching

OF

Christian Doctrine



ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF PIUS X., BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE
POPE, TO THE SACRED BISHOPS OF THE UNI-
VERSAL CHURCH ON THE TEACHING OF
CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

TO HIS VENERABLE BROTHERS, THE PATRIARCHS, PRI-
MATES, ARCHBISHOPS, BISHOPS AND OTHER ORDI-
NARIES HAVING PEACE AND UNION WITH THE APOS-
TOLIC SEE, PIUS P. P. X. SENDS GREETING AND
BENEDICTION.

VENERABLE BROTHERS:

In this extremely distressing and difficult time the hidden designs of God have imposed on our slender strength the office of Supreme Pastor over the universal flock of Christ. The hardship is great because the enemy has long been prowling around the flock and with subtle cunning has endeavored to bring havoc upon it, succeeding to such an extent that more than ever what the Apostle wrote to the ancients of the Church of Ephesus seems to be realized: "I know that ravening wolves will enter among you, not sparing the flock." (1)

(1) Acts xx, 29.

Those among us who are prompted by zeal for the glory of God and who seek for the reasons of the present decay of religion ascribe it to various causes, and each, according to his own views, adopts different methods in the endeavor to protect and restore the kingdom of God on earth. To Us, Venerable Brethren, without rejecting the opinions of others, it seems we must agree with the judgment of those who attribute the remissness, or rather the intellectual debility of our times—a condition from which such grave evils arise—chiefly to ignorance of divine things. There seems in our days to be a recurrence of what God said by the mouth of the Prophet Oseas: "There is no knowledge of God in the land. Cursing and lying and killing and theft have overflowed and blood hath touched blood. Therefore shall the land mourn, and every one that dwelleth in it shall languish." (1)

In fact, in our age it is a common and alas! not an unjust complaint that there are a great many Christian people who are in the densest ignorance about what concerns their eternal salvation. Nor when We say Christian people do We refer to the humbler classes, who often may find an excuse for their ignorance in the fact that the hard rule of their harsh masters does not leave them the opportunity to attend to themselves or permit the disposal of their time; but We speak especially of those who are not lacking in intellectual culture, nay, who are often notably conspicuous for knowledge in profane science, but who in religious matters pass their lives in thoughtlessness and unconcern. It is difficult to explain in what dense darkness they are involved, and, what is worse, in what heedlessness they live. Of God, the

(1) Osee iv, 1.

Supreme Ruler and Author of all things, of the teaching of Christianity they have never a thought. They know nothing of the Incarnation; nothing of God's perfect renovation of the human race; nothing of Grace, which is especially required for the attainment of things eternal; nothing of the august Sacrifice of the Mass, or of the Sacraments by which we acquire and retain divine grace. Of the wickedness and foulness of sin they have no appreciation; and hence no care to avoid or to withdraw from it; and they arrive at the portals of death in such a condition that the priest, not to dispel all hope of salvation, is compelled to sum up and teach the very elements of religious truth, instead of devoting those last moments to fostering sentiments of love of God in the soul. Often, it is not even that, and, as too frequently happens, the dying man, in his reprehensible ignorance, regards the ministrations of the priest as unnecessary, and persuades himself that he can enter on the dreadful road of eternity with a tranquil mind and face the anger of God, whom he has not thought it necessary to propitiate. Fittingly has it been said by Our Predecessor, Benedict XIV.: "We declare that the greater part of those who are damned have brought the calamity on themselves by ignorance of the mysteries of the faith, which they should have known and believed, in order to be united with the elect."

Hence, Venerable Brothers, why should we wonder that not only among savage peoples, but even in those nations which are still spoken of as Christian, there should be such a widespread and ever-increasing corruption of morals and depravity of life? The Apostle Paul, writing to the Ephesians, said: "Fornication, and all uncleanness and covetousness, let it not be so much as

named among you, as becomes saints; or obscenity or foolish talking." (1)

Now, the foundation of this holiness and purity of soul, which are to hold evil desires in check, is, as the Apostle declared, the knowledge of divine things: "See, therefore, brethren, how you walk circumspectly, not as unwise, but as wise. Therefore become not unwise, but understanding what is the will of God." (2)

And rightly so. For the will of man now scarcely retains even that love of right and justice which was implanted in the human heart by the Almighty Creator, and which was intended to lead to what is the true good, and not to what is only a shadow. Depraved by the primal fault and forgetful of God, its Maker, it directs everything to the cultivation of vanity and the pursuit of falsehood. Blinded by wicked desires, there is surely need of a guide to lead it in the ways of justice which have been unfortunately abandoned.

Of course the natural guide is the human mind, but if the mind has not its proper light, viz.: the knowledge of divine things, it will be the blind leading the blind, ending only in the ditch. The holy King David, praising God for the light of truth with which He had illumined the intellect exclaimed: "The light of Thy countenance, O Lord, is signed upon us." And he signified what was to follow upon the possession of this gift of light when he added: "Thou hast given gladness in my heart;" (3) to wit, that gladness with which the heart is dilated when it runs in the ways of God's commandments.

(1) Eph. cv, 3.

(2) Eph. cv, 15.

(3) Ps. iv, 7.

Whosoever considers this will perceive how true it is that Christian truth, more perfectly than the mere powers of nature, shows us the nature of God and His infinite perfections.

Why should it not be so? Christian truth bids us revere Almighty God by faith, which is an act of the mind; by hope, which is an act of the will; by charity, which is an act of the heart, and thus it subjects the whole man to its Supreme Author and Ruler. In the same way the doctrine of Jesus Christ unfolds for us the true nobility of human nature, inasmuch as it reveals man as the son of the Heavenly Father, after whose likeness he is made, and holds out to him an eternal and glorious reward. But from this very dignity with which man is invested and from the knowledge of it, Christ wishes us to learn that we should love one another and live as behoves the sons of light, "not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chamberings and impurities, not in contention and envy." (1)

He likewise enjoins upon us to cast all our care upon God, knowing that He will provide for us. He bids us give to the poor, to do good to those who hate us, to place the eternal advantage of our soul above the fleeting pleasures of this world. And, not to speak of all these things in detail, does not the teaching of Christ appeal to and command the proud to cultivate that humility of soul which is the origin of true glory? "Whoever, therefore, shall humble himself he is the greater in the kingdom of heaven." (2) It teaches us that prudence of the spirit which wards off the prudence of the flesh; that justice which gives each his own; that forti-

(1) Rom. xiii, 13.

(2) Matth. xvii, 4.

tude which makes us ready to bear all things, and with resolute heart to suffer for God and our eternal happiness. Finally it teaches that temperance by which we even love poverty for the sake of the kingdom of God, nay, by which we "glory in the cross of Christ, despising the shame." Hence it follows that not only does Christian teaching illumine the mind and enable it to attain the truth, but it inflames the will and enkindles that ardor which makes us aspire to God and unite ourselves with Him by the exercise of every virtue.

It is not Our purpose to assert that depravity of the heart is inconsistent with knowledge of religious truth: Would that facts did not prove the contrary! But We say that where the mind is enveloped in the dark clouds of ignorance, there cannot be either rectitude or morality. For although a man with eyes open can turn away from the right path, the blind man is constantly in danger of going wrong. Moreover, whereas if the light of faith is not wholly extinct, there is always a hope of reformation; depravity of morals, united with ignorance of the truth, leaves scarcely any remedy, and leaves the road open that leads to ruin.

Since therefore so many and such serious evils result from ignorance, and since, on the other hand, there is such need of and such helpfulness in religious instruction, it is in vain for any one to hope to fulfill his duty unless he knows what that duty is. Upon whom the task devolves to do away with this fatal ignorance and to impart to men's minds the knowledge which it is so necessary to possess, let us now stop to consider.

On whom it devolves, Venerable Brothers, admits of no doubt; for this most important duty regards all who are charged with the care of souls. They are bound by the precept of Christ to know and feed the flock intrusted

to them. But to feed is, first of all, to teach: "I will give you"—thus God promised by Jeremias—"pastors according to my own heart, and they shall feed you with knowledge and doctrine." (1) Wherefore Paul the Apostle said, "Christ sent me not to baptise, but to preach the Gospel," (2) indicating that the first duty of those who in any degree are set over the government of the Church is the instruction of the faithful in sacred things.

We deem it superfluous to dwell at greater length in praising such instruction, or showing its value in the eyes of God. No doubt the pity we manifest in relieving the wants of the poor is most acceptable to God; but who will question that the care and labor by which we procure, not transient benefits for the body, but eternal for souls by teaching and warning them, are far more acceptable. Nothing, certainly, can be more desirable, nothing more pleasing to Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of immortal souls, Who said of Himself by Isaias, "He hath sent me to preach the Gospel to the poor." (3)

It is important, Venerable Brothers, to emphasize and urge this in a particular manner, that no weightier duty is appointed unto priests, and by no stricter obligations are they bound. In a priest holiness of life must be accompanied by knowledge: "The lips of the priest shall keep knowledge;" (4) and the Church strongly insists upon it for those who are about to enter the sacred ministry. Wherefore does she so insist? Because the Christian people expect from them the knowledge of the Divine law, and God chooses them to impart it: "They

(1) Jerem. iii, 15.

(2) Cor. i, 17.

(3) St. Luke iv, 18.

(4) Mal. ii, 7.

shall seek the law at his mouth; because he is the Angel of the Lord of hosts.”(1) On this account the Bishop at ordination thus addresses the candidates for the priesthood: “Let your doctrine be the spiritual medicine of the people of God; let them be provident helpers of our order; that, meditating upon the law day and night, they may believe what they read, and teach what they have believed.”(2) If these words apply to all priests, what must be the thought of those who, having official rank and power, are charged with the government of souls by virtue of their priestly dignity and, as it were by a sacred contract! They are the pastors and doctors whom Christ hath given that the faithful be no longer children tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine by the wickedness of men; but by doing the truth in charity, they may in all things grow up in Him, Who is the Head, even Christ.(3)

Wherefore the holy Council of Trent, considering the pastors of souls, declared that their first and chief duty was to teach the faithful of Christ. Hence it commands them to explain the truths of religion to the people at least on Sundays and more solemn festivals, and every day, or certainly three times a week, in the sacred seasons of Advent and Lent. Nor is this all, for it adds that parish-priests are bound, at least on these same Sundays and festivals, either personally or by others, to instruct the children in the truths of faith, and to train them in obedience to God and their parents. When, moreover, the Sacraments are to be administered, it

(1) Ibid.

(2) Pontif. Rom.

(3) Ephes. iv, 14-15.

orders that those who are to receive them be instructed in plain and simple language regarding their effects.

These prescriptions of the holy Synod, Benedict XIV., our predecessor, thus summarized and defined more distinctly in his Constitution *Etsi minime*: "Two duties particularly are imposed by the Council of Trent on the guardians of souls: one, that they should speak to the people about Divine things on festival days; the other that they should instruct children and all less intelligent persons in the rudiments of faith and of the Divine Law." Rightly, indeed, does the prudent Pontiff distinguish the twofold office: of delivering an address—which is usually called an explanation of the Gospel—and of teaching Christian doctrine. For there may not be wanting some who, for the sake of lessening labor, may persuade themselves that the homily may take the place of catechism—a mistake evident to all who reflect. The sermon on the Gospel is addressed to those who have been already imbued with the elements of the faith. It may be called the bread distributed to grown people. Catechetical teaching, on the contrary, is the milk which the Apostle Peter wished the people to desire without guile. That is to say, the office of the catechist consists in taking up for explanation a truth pertaining to faith or morals, and making it clear from every point of view. And since the purpose of teaching should be amendment of life, the catechist must institute a comparison between what God commands to be done and what men do in point of fact; then, making timely use of examples drawn from the Sacred Scriptures, ecclesiastical history, or the lives of the Saints, he must persuade his hearers, and point out to them clearly how they are to set their conduct in order; finally, let him exhort all present to abhor and fly vice and to pursue a virtuous life.

We understand, indeed, that such a duty as this of teaching Christian doctrine is unattractive to not a few as not being generally held in high estimation, nor perhaps likely to attract popular praise. But for Our part, We consider that such an opinion is founded rather on thoughtlessness than truth. Sacred orators, who, from a sincere desire of glorifying God, justify and defend the faith, or proclaim the glories of the Saints, are certainly to be praised. But this work supposes a preceding one; that, namely, of the catechist; which, if it has been omitted, the foundations on which to build the house have not been laid. Too often do the most ornate discourses, which receive the loud applause of crowded assemblages, serve only to tickle men's ears, without at all moving their hearts. Catechetical instruction, on the other hand, although unpretentious and simple, is that word to which God Himself witnesseth by Isaias: "As the rain and the snow come down from heaven and return no more thither, but soak the earth and water it, and make it to spring and give seed to the sower and bread to the eater; so shall my word be, which shall go forth from my mouth: it shall not return to me void, but it shall do whatsoever I please, and shall prosper in the things for which I sent it." (1) A like opinion should we form of those priests who laboriously write books in defense of the truths of religion: They are certainly worthy of much praise. But how many persons will study these volumes and draw profit from them commensurate with the author's labor and desires? Whereas, the explanation of Christian doctrine, if it be duly given, is never fruitless for the hearers.

It will further inflame the zeal of the ministers of God

(1) Isa. lv, 10-11.

to recall the enormous and constantly increasing number of persons who either know nothing at all of religion, or who have only such a knowledge of God and of the Christian faith, that, in the midst of the light of Catholic truth, they lead the lives of idolaters. How many, alas! there are, not children merely, but adults, who, even at an advanced age, are entirely unacquainted with the principal mysteries of the faith; who, when they hear the name of Christ, ask "Who is He that I may believe in Him?" (1) Hence it is that they foment hatred between men; they form criminal associations; they engage in dishonest business; they usuriously seize the property of others, and consider these and similar things no crime. Hence, ignoring the law of Christ, which condemns not only unclean deeds, but thoughts also and desires, although refraining perhaps, for one reason or another, from obscene pleasures, they reject no sinful thought. There being no religion in their hearts, their sins are multiplied beyond the hairs of their heads. These things, in truth, it is well to remember, occur not merely among the rude and wretched, but also, and perhaps more frequently, among persons of loftier station, and amongst those whom science inflates, who, in the conceit of vain learning, deem religion a thing to be laughed at, and "blaspheme whatever things they know not." (2)

Now if a harvest is vainly expected from ground which has received no seed, how shall we look for good morals in a generation which has not received Christian instruction? Wherefore, we justly conclude, that since faith has so languished that in many persons it seems to be dying, the

(1) St. John ix, 36.

(2) St. Jude i, 10.

duty of catechetical instruction must have been negligently performed or altogether omitted. It is but a false excuse to pretend that faith is a gratuitous gift conferred on each one in Baptism. All who are baptized in Christ do indeed receive the habit of faith; but this divinest seed does not "grow up and shoot out great branches" (1) by its own innate power. As there is in man from birth the faculty of understanding, which needs the mother's promptings to develop into efficiency, so it does not happen otherwise to the Christian, who, born anew of water and the Holy Ghost, is imbued with faith. He needs Christian formation, that faith may be fostered and may increase and bear fruit. Hence the Apostle wrote: "Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of Christ." (2) But that he might show the necessity of teaching, he added, "How shall they hear without a preacher?"

If therefore, from all that has been hitherto said, it is clear of what importance is the religious training of the people, it should be Our greatest concern that the teaching of Christian doctrine, than which, to use the words of Our Predecessor Benedict XIV., nothing more useful has been instituted, should always be vigorously maintained, and where it has fallen into disuse restored.

Therefore, Venerable Brothers, wishing to satisfy the weighty obligations of Our high and apostolic office, and desiring to see uniformity of custom everywhere established in so important a matter, We do decree and strictly command that in all dioceses throughout the world the following regulations be observed and enforced:

I. All parish priests, and in general all to whom the care of souls is committed, must teach the catechism to

(1) St. Mark iv, 32.

(2) Rom. x, 17.

their young boys and girls for the space of one hour on all Sundays and holy days of the year without exception; explaining to them what each is bound to believe and practise in order to attain eternal salvation.

II. They shall also at stated times in the year carefully prepare these children for the Sacraments of Penance and Confirmation by courses of instruction extending through many days.

III. Likewise, by means of appropriate instructions and exhortations, given every day during the Lenten season, and if necessary also after Easter, they shall, but with very particular care and diligence, prepare their young people of both sexes for a worthy reception of their first Holy Communion.

IV. Let there be canonically established in every parish the association commonly known as the Society of Christian Doctrine, by means of which, especially where the number of priests is small, pastors may secure lay help in the teaching of Catechism; and these lay teachers should apply themselves to their task out of zeal for the glory of God, as well as from a desire to gain the rich indulgences lavishly granted by the Roman Pontiffs.

V. In the larger cities, especially where there are public academies, colleges and universities, let religious doctrine classes be established for the purpose of teaching the truths of our faith and the precepts of Christian morality to the youths who attend such public institutions wherein no mention whatsoever is made of religion.

VI. And since, in our times especially, those more advanced in years stand in no less need of religious instruction than do the young, all pastors and others having the care of souls shall, on Sundays and holy days, and at an hour most convenient for the majority of the faithful, instruct them in the catechism, using plain and

simple language, adapted to their intelligence. This, moreover, is in addition to the usual homily on the Gospel prescribed for the parish Mass, and the hour chosen should not conflict with that of the children's instruction. The Catechism of the Council of Trent should be followed in all these instructions, which ought to be so ordered as to cover in the space of four or five years the entire matter of the Apostles' Creed, the Sacraments, the Ten Commandments, Prayer and the Precepts of the Church.

All this, Venerable Brethren, We determine and decree by Our Apostolic authority; it will now be your duty, each in his own diocese, to put it into effect immediately and in every detail.

Moreover, it will be incumbent upon you to be vigilant in this matter, using your authority unto the end that what We now enjoin be not overlooked and forgotten, or, what would be as bad, that it be not put into effect negligently and listlessly. Indeed, if you would prevent such a result, you must constantly exhort and urge your pastors not to attempt these catechetical instructions offhand, but rather to prepare for them with the utmost care; for thus they will not discourse in the words of human wisdom, but "in simplicity of heart and the sincerity of God." (1) Let them take pattern by Christ Himself, Who though uttering "things hidden from the foundation of the world," (2) nevertheless declared all things "in parables to the multitudes; and without parables he did not speak to them." (3) We know, too, that the Apostles who were trained by Our Lord, did the same; and St. Gregory the Great used to

(1) II Cor. i, 12.

(2) Matt. xiii, 35.

(3) Ibid. 34.

say that "their greatest care was to preach to the simple people the plainest truths, things not high and lofty, but such as they could easily comprehend." (1) And in matters of religion it is no different in our day; most men are to be moved and won by what is most simple and direct.

Now it would be a mistake, and far from Our intention, were any one to conclude, from what We have said about this striving after simplicity in religious instruction, that such manner of discourse calls for no effort, no thoughtful preparation. On the contrary, it demands much more than any other kind of public speaking. Far easier is it to find an orator who can deliver an elaborate and brilliant sermon than a catechist able to give a simple but flawless instruction. Therefore, however much one may be gifted by nature with ease in composition or fluency of expression, let him nevertheless be persuaded of this—that he will never derive any real fruit for souls from his instructions on Christian doctrine to children or to the people, unless he has well prepared himself by long and careful study and meditation. It is a grievous mistake to count on the people's ignorance or slowness of comprehension, and use this as an excuse for negligence in the matter of preparation. The fact is, that the less cultured one's audience, the greater care and pains must be taken to bring within the reach of their feebleness comprehension truths the most sublime and far above the reach of the ordinary intelligence,—yet, truths as necessary to salvation for the ignorant as for the learned.

And now, Venerable Brethren, before closing this letter, We shall address to you the words of Moses: "If

(1) Moral, I, xvii, Chapter 26.

any man be on the Lord's side, let him join with me." (1) Consider well, We entreat and beseech you, what a loss to souls arises from this one cause, ignorance of the things of God. There may doubtless be many useful and praiseworthy works established in your diocese for the good of the flock entrusted to you, yet it should be your desire and ambition, before all else, to urge this present matter with all possible zeal and insistence, to work for and promote this one great end—that knowledge of Christian doctrine may thoroughly pervade and imbue the minds of all the faithful. In the words of the Apostle, St. Peter: "As every man hath received grace, ministering the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God." (2)

And while the Most Blessed and Immaculate Virgin will continually intercede for the success of your earnest and zealous efforts, they shall also be favored by Our Apostolic Benediction, which We lovingly impart to yourselves, to your clergy and to the faithful under your care, both as a testimony of Our affection and as a pledge of heavenly graces.

PIUS X., Pope.

St. Peter's, Rome, April 15, 1905, in the second year of Our Pontificate.

(1) Exod. xxxii, 26.

(2) I Peter iv, 10.

The Catholic Church in Sweden

SEPARATED from the rest of Europe by the waters of the Baltic, and repelling travelers and visitors as well as invaders by the snows of its dreary winter, Sweden has but little influence in the political world, and has occupied but a humble position in the literary world. Situated, like the rest of the Scandinavian Peninsula, in the Arctic regions, it covers the largest area of these northern countries of the Baltic, and is not devoid of natural scenery and attractions for tourists. For it is conspicuous by its mountain ranges and snowy peaks, rivers and streams, innumerable lakes and cataracts—nay, it even possesses the largest waterfall in Europe—is fringed by numerous little islands and girdled by a belt of islets, which to a great extent are bare of all vegetation; yet these give shelter and protection to the fishermen, who greatly abound here in the “land of the herring fishery *par excellence*,” whilst the mainland, however, is rich in minerals and timber.

From the earliest times of which we have authentic documents, Sweden was inhabited by two distinct tribes or peoples, the *Göta* or Goths in the south and the *Svea* or Swedes in the north, who were more or less in constant conflict with each other or their neighbors. These armed hordes, led on by valiant and daring chiefs, issued from their mountain strongholds, and, like a devastating stream, poured upon the neighboring countries, drowning every trace of civilization in the waters of desolation and ruin. But whilst the Swedish Goths spread along the southern coasts of Sweden and among the islands of the Baltic in northern Germany and Russia, and played in the fourth and fifth centuries such an important part in the disruption of the Roman Empire, their warlike brethren, the

Svea, carried on their predatory expeditions on the eastern shores of the Baltic, imitating the sea-roving Vikings, the Danes and Northmen.

Strongly addicted to the worship of Odin, Thor and Frey, entirely devoted to fighting their bloody feuds, and constantly on the alert for warlike enterprises against their neighbors, Christianity struck its roots amongst them, but very late, on account of their fierce and warlike character and their unsettled habitations. To die a natural death was considered by them to be the greatest shame and a sign of being despised by the gods, as only death on the battlefield opened the gates of everlasting bliss in the *Walhalla*. On the other hand, however, the old Swedes were endowed with noble qualities, such as fidelity, generosity, and hospitality.

The Peace of the Gospel, however, reached the latitude of the Skaggerack in spite of the icy barriers of Sweden and in spite of the warlike spirit of its inhabitants, and found among the Swedish nation faithful children of the Church, saintly kings, bishops and priests, and among the flock saintly confessors, virgins and widows. Like all the Teutonic tribes in Northern Europe, Sweden is indebted for Christianity to the Catholic Church and the Roman Pontiffs, and for its Christian civilization, literature, learning and agriculture to the much hated "lazy and ignorant monks of the Middle Ages," especially to the Cistercians. And when in the sixteenth century the so-called Reformers came to bring to Sweden the first glimpse of the pure Gospel, they found to their surprise that an "ignorant monk," *i. e.*, the pious and learned secretary of St. Brigit, Mathias, had translated the Scriptures into Swedish as early as 1352. Their work therefore was not one of reformation, but of deformation of a once flourishing Church which for nearly five centuries was strongly attached to the Rock of Peter.

Several proposals had already been made by various synods and councils, both in England and Germany, for converting the northern nations, to soften their manners and to put an end to their murder and bloodshed. St. Ansgar, the "Apostle of Denmark," was also to become the "Apostle of Sweden." It was in the year 829 that King Edmund of Upsala dispatched an embassy from Sweden to the Court of Louis I, the Mild, King of the Franks, to ask for priests and missionaries, as the King and his people were inclined to embrace Christianity. Louis summoned Ansgar, the monk of New Corvey, who had already been in Denmark. Accompanied by another monk, Witmar of Old Corvey, Ansgar started for his northern journey. They were attacked by a daring horde of Vikings, and all their furniture, books, etc., destined for the mission, were taken from them, but finally they were set free. Witmar, frightened by the barbaric aspect of these Vikings, returned home, and tried also to persuade Ansgar to give up such a difficult mission among barbarians. But he replied: "I give myself, body and soul, into God's care, and do not return until I have preached Christianity in that country." Ansgar arrived at Birka, or Bjorko, situated on Lake Mälär, where he was heartily received by King Biörn, co-regent of King Edmund, who granted perfect freedom of preaching the word of God. Ansgar stayed only one year and a half, baptized many, and among them Herigar, President of Birka, who built the first Christian church in Sweden. In the autumn of 830, Ansgar returned to Corvey to give an account of the northern mission. In the meantime, however, King Louis had founded the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen, in order to facilitate the conversion of the Scandinavian Peninsula, and Ansgar was appointed its first Archbishop in 831. Assisted by Ebbo of Rheims, Ansgar, the new Archbishop, consecrated one of his

priests, Gauzbert, Auxiliary-Bishop of Sweden, who was, however, expelled by the pagan populace in 843, whilst his assistant-priest, Nithard, was put to death. Herigar kept the little flock together, and applied to St. Ansgar for fresh laborers; in 849 Ardgar went to Sweden, and was joined by St. Ansgar himself and Erimbert in 852, who were welcomed by King Olaf. After the death of St. Ansgar in 865, who had been appointed Papal Legate, "super Danos et Suedos," the year before, Anglo-Saxon monks continued the apostolic mission in Sweden. Among them we find Sigfried, a priest from York, who preached the Gospel at Weyio in Smaland, and baptized King Olaf Skotkonung, "the Lap King," at Husby Well, in West Gothland (in 1001); the King called himself from henceforth Olaf "the Swea's King," instead of King Upsala; he was the first Christian king of Sweden, and in some way the royal forerunner of Christianity in his country. But Sigfried found it a difficult task to persuade the majority to embrace the Christian religion, although he was allowed to build churches in West Gothland and was strongly supported by King Olaf. But even the little success Christianity had made was destroyed again by the pagan sons and successors of Olaf, *i. e.*, *Amund Edmund the elder*, and the Church lost much of the ground which it had gained through the efforts of Olaf. It was again under King Stenkil, and thanks to his clement rule (1056-66), that the Church began to make progress, as he effectually protected it, without attempting to do violence to the convictions of the pagan population. Among the missionaries he employed we find St. David of Munktorp, Apostle of the Westmanlanders; St. Adalward the Elder, the first Bishop of Skara and Apostle of the Wermlanders; St. Stephen the Martyr, Apostle of the Helsingars; Adalward the Younger; Egino, Bishop of Dalby; Henrik of Lund, St. Bodwid, etc.

Under King Inge the elder (1080-1112), at last, the last remains of paganism disappeared, when the pagan temple of the national god Odin at Apsala was burned, and the Catholic Church celebrated once more its usual triumphs over all human obstacles and pagan prejudices. The King proclaimed the Christian religion to be publicly preached in his whole kingdom, and when it was firmly established King Swerker Karlson (1135-55) applied to the Holy See for the canonical organization of the hierarchy. Nicholas Breakspear, the English Cardinal, and afterwards known in the history of the Papacy as Adrian IV, was sent to make the necessary arrangements. Originally there were as many as nine bishoprics in Sweden alone, besides that of Finland; three of them, however, were suppressed as unnecessary. Upsala was now under its sixth Bishop, Stephen, and was raised to the rank of an archbishopric (1164), whose occupant became Metropolitan of the six suffragan bishoprics: Linköping, Stregnez, Westeras, Skara, Vexio, and Abo (in Finland). Thus the work of Christianity which was begun by King Olaf, and continued by Kings Inge and Swerker, was finally crowned by King Eric Edwardson (1155-60), better known in the Annals and the Martyrology of the Church as St. Eric, king and martyr and patron of Sweden, whose memory was held in great esteem, while his people continued faithful to the religion for which he died. He was at Mass in the Church of Upsala when his servants came to tell him that Magnus Henrikson, a rebel, who claimed the crown of Sweden, was coming to assail him. Advised to take flight, he answered: "Let me hear the Mass to the end, the rest of the service I hope to hear elsewhere." Mass was scarcely over when the enemies were at hand, and Eric was killed. But henceforth Sweden was intimately connected with the Rock of Peter, paid its homage to the Roman Pontiffs

and the annual tax of Peter Pence in "acknowledgement of her fidelity to Rome." That the Swedish nation as such was strongly attached to the Catholic Church, not merely in theory, but also in the practice of her teaching, may be concluded from the fact that the early Swedish Church numbers not less than twenty-three canonized Saints, one of whom was a king, and ten were Bishops, etc., and that the kings and the nation were generous in their donations to the Church. King Magnus (1279-90) especially was a munificent benefactor of the clergy, endowed a large number of churches, and built five monasteries. It is especially to the Cistercian monasteries of Alvastra (founded in 1143), Nydala (1143), Varnhem (1150), Saba-Iuleta (1160), Gudvala (1164), and Gudsberga (1486), that Sweden is indebted for its literature and agriculture. True, for several centuries Sweden continued to be disturbed by internal dissensions, but it was the Church which maintained among the people the sense of national unity, and the seven episcopal sees became the conservative centers of a new order and civilization.

The bloody feuds and civil wars which for nearly two centuries kept the Scandinavian Peninsula in a state of perpetual agitation were eventually and successfully put an end to by the influence of the Danish Queen Margaret, "the Semiramis of the North" (1380-1412), who united the three kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway under one crown by the Union of Calmar in 1397. But the edifice she constructed so admirably began to crumble into ruin under her successors, who had neither the talent, skill, and energy, nor the desire to keep up such an amalgamation of nations, and the triple sceptre fell from their powerless hands. Sweden especially had always regarded the union with a suspicious eye; nay, it divided Sweden from its very date into two antagonistic parties, the one favoring the Union of Calmar, the other standing up for

Swedish independence. The Church, with the Bishops and clergy, was altogether in favor of the Union, as it was no doubt a strong support to Catholic unity itself. On the eve of the Reformation there were two parties fighting in Sweden about the administration of the country, the Sture and Trolle families. Sten Sture the younger was finally acknowledged in 1512, on condition that Gustavus Trolle should be chosen Archbishop of Upsala, as the aged Archbishop Jacob Ulfson was to resign. Archbishop Trolle was consecrated in Rome, returned to Sweden in 1515, and was solemnly installed in his cathedral by the retiring Archbishop. But with the arrival of the new Archbishop Trolle began the long struggle which ended only with the extinction of the Catholic Church in Sweden. Two years after his arrival, Trolle was accused of high treason, summoned before a diet at Stockholm, deposed and degraded from his office on November 23, 1517. The Bishops were forced to sign this degradation, as we know from the pen of Hans Brask, Bishop of Linköping, the champion of the Catholic Church in Sweden against the Reformers. As soon as Pope Leo X heard of these proceedings he ordered John Angelo Arcimboldi, who was then in Denmark, to go at once to Sweden as Papal Legate, and to inquire into the affair. Sten Sture gave him a hearty welcome, and promised to make him Archbishop of Upsala if he would join him against Archbishop Trolle. But the Papal Legate protested against the violent, unlawful degradation of the Archbishop and the daily encroachments made on the privileges of the clergy by the Stures, and demanded restoration of the deposed Archbishop and an adequate satisfaction for the insult and indignity. When Sture refused to comply, Leo X excommunicated him as well as the Senate, placed the whole kingdom under an interdict, appointed the Bishops of Lund and Roeskilde to

carry it into effect, and Christian II, King of Denmark, to enforce its execution.

Christian II invaded Sweden, mowed down the army of Sture, took Stockholm, and swore upon the altar to keep his promises; he was crowned as King of Sweden in 1520. But on the 8th of November, 1521, he butchered in the so-called "Blood-Bath," the principal nobles and several of the Bishops "for treason and sacrilege," to revenge the deposition of Archbishop Trolle, who was then reinstated. True, Christian II was invested with authority by the Pope to see to the execution of the excommunication, but no historian will accuse the Pope of the murder and bloodshed caused by the bloody tyrant, who was only guided by political reasons and objects in this inhuman massacre. Among the prisoners taken at Stockholm was also Gustaf Wasa, born in 1490, who was taken to Copenhagen in 1518. But his cousin, Erik Banner, released him, and promised £500 for his safe keeping to Christian II. Gustaf Wasa, however, broke his word of honor, violated his plighted faith, escaped from his prison to Lubeck, where he became acquainted with the new doctrines of Luther (1519). At the time when Christian II of Denmark invaded Sweden, Gustaf Wasa returned to his native country and became its deliverer from the Danish yoke. The administration of Sweden had been entrusted to the restored Archbishop Trolle of Upsala and to Bishop Dietrich Slaghock of Skara. Although disgusted with the Danish tyrant, Bishops and clergy tried to oppose the advance of Wasa, whom they considered as a rebel. But Wasa gained over to his cause the most learned and the most influential member of the episcopal body, Hans Brask of Linköping, with whose powerful assistance Wasa was proclaimed regent of Sweden in 1521. In 1523 Wasa moved one step further, summoned a diet to Stregnetz, which elected him

to the throne, and from this time Sweden has always been ruled by her own kings. Wasa was now supreme temporal ruler of Sweden, and to assume also spiritual power was only a question of time. As early as 1522 Wasa appointed new Bishops to the vacant sees. Master Knut was to replace Archbishop Trolle, who had fled to Denmark; but Wasa annulled his election again in 1523 in favor of John Magnus, or John Store (latinized Magnus Gothus), who had been sent as Papal Legate to Sweden, and had been chosen Administrator of Upsala, as the Archbishop was still alive; John Magnus was confirmed as Archbishop and Papal Legate for Sweden on June 6, 1633, Magnus Sommar became Bishop of Stregnetz, Peter Sunnanwader of Wesleras, Harold Stromfelt of Skara.

Firmly seated on the throne of Sweden, surrounded as he thought by Bishops of his own creation, Wasa demanded the property of the Church to pay off his German Lutheran mercenaries, who had helped him to the throne. To carry through his favorite scheme of the Reformation by means of the new doctrines of Luther, which he had heard in Lübeck and seen to be so advantageous for worldly prosperity, Wasa now began to undermine the deeply-seated reverence of his people for the ancient religion and for the persons of their chief pastors. Two brothers, Olaus and Lawrence Petersson, who had imbibed the new doctrines of Luther at Wittenberg, were cordially received by Gustaf, who listened attentively to their doctrines and became one of the most enthusiastic adherents of the Reformation. But so far he did not express himself openly, fearing, by gaining the name of a heretic to draw on himself the detestation of priests and people. He protected, however, the Lutheran teachers, appointed Lawrence professor of theology at Upsala and Olaus preacher to the church of Stockholm, whilst

Laurentius Andrea, or Lars Andersson, formerly archdeacon of Stregnetz, became chancellor of the kingdom and Wasa's private secretary. In Lars, Wasa had found his chosen instrument, for "he combined the unprincipled cunning of the English Cranmer with the crouching servility of the English Vicar-General Cromwell."

Bishop Hans Brask, however, protested against the King's leaning towards the Lutherans, and earnestly besought him not to countenance the new teachers lest he should lose the good name of a Christian prince; but the King replied he was an impartial protector of all his subjects alike. Hans Brask went a step further. As the King would not listen, he urged the new Archbishop, or rather, Administrator, John Magnus, to summon the two heresiarchs, Olaus and Lawrence, before his Chapter, and, as they proved obstinate in their adherence to the new gospel, he excommunicated them. Wasa was disappointed with the new Archbishop, as he did not find in him a ready and compliant instrument. "He would do everything to oblige the King except to sacrifice his conscience by abandoning the faith once delivered to the Saints," was the answer of the Archbishop. Determined to bend the will of the "obstinate" man, Wasa tried one more in 1528, and before the assembled multitudes attacked the clergy and monks with coarse invectives. But the peasants began to shout out and cry that they might be permitted to keep their monks, since they were willing to support them.

In order to shake the reverence of the people for their Bishops, the royal ruffian reformer made sport of the Archbishop by constituting him "May-king," and then rudely expelled him from Sweden. John Magnus thereupon stayed for a considerable time in Poland, went then to Rome to Clement VII, where he died at last in the greatest poverty in a hospital in 1544, the last Catholic

Archbishop of Upsala. The two recently deposed Bishops, Knut and Peter Sunnanwader, were condemned to death; nobody knew why. In order to make them ridiculous before the eyes of the people, they had to ride backwards on half-starved horses, Knut wearing a bark mitre on his head, Peter Sunnanwader a crown of straw and a wooden sword by his side (1527).

Among the prelates there remained now only the venerable Hans Brask of Linköping, from whom Wasa dreaded any serious opposition to his favorite scheme of reformation. Wasa summoned a diet to Westeras for midsummer, 1527, which was to be nothing but a solemn farce and a hollow mockery against the Church and her ministers. Bishop Brask, however, as the senior, held a meeting with the other Bishops to discuss how they were to conduct themselves against this royal ruffian. The two Bishops of Stregnetz and Westeras, recent nominees of Wasa, tried to oppose Bishop Brask, who then said: "If King Gustaf will take from us the property, power, and privileges, let him do it by force, not with our own free will and consent; in that way we retain our right to complain before the Holy Father in Rome. Let each one take good heed how he abandon the Pope. Should we fall from Rome, which is our anchor and defense, we fall into fire and thorns on every side." Bishop Brask gained his point; for all the Bishops signed a document and pledged themselves to resist the new doctrines to the end. But when the matter was discussed at the diet of Westeras before the King, the Bishop of Stregnetz and Westeras gave way, whilst Brask and Ture Johnson Roos opposed the spoliation of the Church. At length the act was passed which despoiled the churches of their property and separated Sweden from the Catholic Church, when Gustavus Wasa was made supreme head of the Swedish Church in spirituals as

well as in temporals at the Diet of Westeras in 1527, and received power and authority to reorganize the Church. "The greater part of the estates which had belonged to the Church was to be confiscated and applied to the use of the State, the 'pure word of God' to be preached in all churches of the kingdom; Bishops, deans, etc., . . . should be nominated by the King without the advice of the Pope," etc., . . . these are some of the articles of the Diet at Westeras.

Treacherous promises and open violence, sacrilegious spoliation and popular oppression, earthly policy and human ambition, the thirst of self-aggrandizement and the coveting of others' goods, the combination of sensuality, ambition and avarice, were the leading motives of the reformers in Sweden; they marked its beginning and progress, gave it success and permanence; and a standing army of German Lutheran mercenaries had to enforce obedience to the will of the royal reformer and his preachers. The work of destruction, begun at Westeras (1527), was completed at Orebro in 1529, when, at the request of the Chancellor, Lars Andersson, the Mass was abolished and the new service, composed by Olaus Petersson, was substituted in its place, which, however, kept up an exterior show or imitation of the old Catholic rites and ceremonies, to deceive the people. But general discontent followed this vital innovation in worship. Faithful pastors, who could not be compelled to conform to the new order of things, were deprived of their places and income and driven into exile, whilst the people themselves were forced to adopt the new teachings at the point of the bayonets so well handled by the Lutheran mercenaries. Bishop Brask was forced to leave Sweden, went for a time to the Olivetan monastery at Danzig, and then to the monastery of Landan, in Poland, where he died in 1538, faithful to the Catho-

lic Church and her doctrines, for which he had sacrificed everything.

As supreme head of the Church of Sweden, Gustaf Wasa made a regular visitation of the dioceses, accompanied by a strong body of cavalry, who during the sermons "*watched and preyed*," and afterwards enforced the "impressive" words of the pure Gospel preached by a troop of German Lutherans.

Petrus Magni, the apostate Bishop of Westeras, had in the meantime consecrated three Bishops for Abo, Skara and Stregnetz, all creatures of Wasa, who a short time afterwards assisted at the consecration of the first Lutheran Archbishop of Upsala, Lawrence Petersson. When everything was prepared, Gustaf Wasa himself, who had always delayed his coronation in order to sweep away the Catholic Church from Sweden, was solemnly consecrated by the new Archbishop on January 12, 1528.

Lawrence Andersson took to himself a wife, as his brother had done before, and ordered all the clergy to marry, "to give undoubted evidence of their sincere attachment to the new Gospel." The people were greatly startled and scandalized, and threatened to kill the foreign heretics and depose the apostate King; repeated insurrections were the result of the violation of the time-honored religious rights and privileges of the Swedish nation. It was difficult to persuade the peasants to change their religion. When in 1544 Wasa took the oath to remain faithful to the Lutheran religion and to allow no other in the country, he expressed his astonishment that the Swedish nation as such was so strongly attached to their ancient "ceremonies."

True, attempts were made by his successors, Eric XIV, John III, and Sigismund, to unite Sweden once more with Rome. King John III (1568-92) especially was conspicuous among them. Through the influence

of his first wife, Catherine, sister of King Sigismund II of Poland, the King was received into the Church by the Papal Legate Possevin, May 6, 1578, and tried as far as possible to restore the Catholic religion in Sweden—although with some alterations, which were condemned by Rome. He allowed the Jesuits to come to Sweden, appointed F. Laurits Nielsen, S.J., commonly called "*Klosterlasse*," professor at Stockholm, and ordered all the preachers to attend his lectures. King John III, however, relapsed, and his son and successor, Sigismund, who remained a Catholic, was expelled from the throne by Charles IX (1604-11), the youngest son of Wasa. At the great national assembly, which was held at Upsala in 1593, it was finally decreed that the Augsburg Confession should be accepted as the authoritative statement of the theological doctrines of the Swedish Church, and all those who did not accept the Lutheran doctrine were forced to leave the country within six weeks. All the followers of Sigismund were put to death, and every trace of a Catholic Church blotted out. Sweden became from henceforth (1600-1860) the hot-bed of intolerance and rigid exclusion of any other creed, as no one was allowed to profess any other religion except the Lutheran under pain of exile, confiscation, loss of all rights and privileges. And yet there were converts to be found even in Sweden during that time, such as Queen Christina (1632-54), daughter of Gustaf Adolf II (1611-32), who was received in Innsbruck, and her secretary, William Davidson (1655), Nicolas Steno of Copenhagen, and the famous physician, Winslow of Odenseveto. (1)

The French Embassy was for a long time the only

(1) Among the missionaries who went to Sweden are to be mentioned F. Henry Schacht, S.J. (1628), F. John Sterck, S.J. (1678), F. Martin Gottsheer, S.J. (1690-98).

one which was allowed to have its private chapel; but even the use of this was regulated by special laws. Towards the end of the eighteenth century a chapel for the common use of all the different Ambassadors at the Court of Sweden was opened, which was also attended by the two Catholic Queens of Sweden, Desirée, wife of Bernadotte, who denied his Catholic religion in order to become King of Sweden (as Charles XIV, 1818-44), and Queen Josephine, wife of Oscar I (1844-59). King Gustaff III, 1771-92, removed some of the penal laws, and allowed foreign Catholics to come into the country, and the Pope thereupon appointed Father Oster, the Superior of the Northern Missions, Vicar-Apostolic, September 23, 1783. But every Swedish subject was strictly forbidden to embrace "Romanism," and heavy fines were imposed upon the transgressors of the law as late as 1858. King Oskar I tried to bring about a change for the better by abolishing the laws of 1726, and presented a petition to the diet to that purpose. But both clergy and nobility refused to accept the petition. It was only in 1860 that the laws against "dissenters" were abolished, who now obtained full right to form themselves into congregations with their own churches, schools, and cemeteries. In 1870 "dissenters" were admitted to the public offices of the State, till at last the laws of October 31, 1873, were published, regulating the affairs of all those who do not belong to the Lutheran State Church, and those of November 10, 1897, regulating the primary education, which are more or less the same as in Norway.

The progress of the Catholic Church in Sweden during the last century has been slow, but yet, in spite of all the circumstances, legislation, education, prejudices, and especially the low standard of morality ("in a moral point of view, Sweden is the most thoroughly degraded and debased Christian country of Europe"), some prog-

ress has been made. In 1800 there were about 100 Catholics in Sweden and Norway together, under the jurisdiction first of the Vicar-Apostolic of Sweden, then under one of the Bishops of Northern Germany, later on, again under the Bishop of Osnabrück.

In 1855, Pius IX erected the Prefecture Apostolic of the North Pole, with Mgr. Bernard (1855-69) as Vicar-Apostolic; and in 1869 separated from it the Vicariate-Apostolic of Sweden, with Mgr. Studach at the head. In 1880, the number of the "dissenters" in Sweden amounted to 21,234, *i. e.*, 14,627 Baptists, 2,993 Jews, 1,591 Methodists, 810 Roman Catholics; in 1890 there were 49,763 adherents of creeds other than the Lutheran, among them 1,390 "Roman Catholics."

According to the census taken in 1901, the population of Sweden amounts to 5,175,228 inhabitants. The number of 2,200 Catholics is insignificant, but always in progress. This little flock is governed by Mgr. Albert Bitter, Vicar-Apostolic since 1895, by sixteen priests (four of Swedish origin), with six stations at Stockholm, Gothenburg, Malmö, Gefte, Novköping and Oscarström, and three out-stations (Vadstena, Aammeberg, Soilertelge), with four churches, five chapels, nine schools attended by 175 children. The two Sister Congregations of St. Joseph's of Chambéry and St. Elizabeth's number 33 and 62 members respectively, and take care of the girls' schools and three hospitals.

True, Sweden is still "*une bastille fermée de la Confession d'Augsburg*"; prejudices are still numerous, obstacles almost insurmountable, and the prospects of a bright future are, so far, not yet visible. It is only by the spread of good literature and by an heroic self-sacrificing body of priests that the obstacles will be overcome, and that the Church will celebrate its usual triumphs of grace in the dominions of St. Eric. MATERNUS SPITZ, O.S.B.,

The Tablet.

The Concordat

Its Advantages and Disadvantages



THE religious position in France is not only one of the greatest difficulty, but of much obscurity. Even as to the Church's life under the Concordat there is much difference of opinion among Catholics. It will be, therefore, of advantage to our readers to have before their eyes a study of the situation from so competent a prelate as Mgr. Mignot, Archbishop of Albi, whose learning, practical grasp of affairs and moderation of view are well known and widely recognized on both sides of the Channel. His Grace, in a long letter to his clergy, has considered the whole question in a way which cannot but be of the greatest assistance in helping us to appreciate and form some judgment upon the crisis with which the Church of France is faced. Of two portions of this letter we shall offer a full translation. In the first of these his Grace deals with the Concordat of 1801, its advantages and disadvantages; in the second he subjects the Separation Bill now before the Chamber to a searching examination, under which it fares badly. We give below his observations on the Concordat, with a summary of his introduction to the subject.

THE POPE AND SEPARATION.

Mgr. Mignot opens by quoting from the allocution of Pope Pius X. of March last, in which his Holiness declared that he complained less of the proposal to denounce the Concordat than of the project which it included for

the definite and permanent separation of Church and State. This declaration is deserving of special notice, says the Archbishop, for it sets forth the real opinion of the Pope on the situation in France. It shows that his Holiness would not accept the abrogation of the Concordat with the light heart with which he has been credited. It furthermore places upon the hierarchy and clergy of France the duty of prudence, moderation, and reticence in the difficult situation in which they are placed. The greatest trial that can befall a cause is that its defenders should misunderstand the real means at its disposal; the highest political quality is a sense of realities. The catastrophe which the Pope foresees will only cause the weight of prejudice and hatred which has so long pressed upon the Church of France to press still more hardly upon her. His Grace therefore signifies his intention of setting forth the extent of the misfortune and of tracing a provisory line of conduct to be pursued by his clergy until the time when the Bishops may have to decide as to the future reorganization of the Church.

CHURCH AND STATE: DIFFERENT RÉGIMES.

In a first section Mgr. Mignot considers the question of the relations between Church and State, and the different *régimes* under which they have been regulated. The Church has no single exclusive system for her relations with the political powers, but she has her desires in this regard, which are dominated by certain general principles which are as supple in their application as elevated in their essence; and the safeguarding of these principles arising out of the very nature of her divine mission is the only question about which she is concerned. These principles may be reduced to three: (1) the distinction between the religious and civil power which is

declared in the words "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's," and is recognized in every Concordat that has been signed by the two powers; (2) the mutual independence of the two powers in their respective domains which is the consequence and the guarantee of the principle above mentioned; (3) the duty of living and working together in concord and harmony which lies upon Church and State. The Catholic ideal as to this harmony is, of course, a people living in unity of faith in a State permeated with its principles and so respectful of the rights of the Church. But in the world as it is that ideal has not been realized, and history tells of various ways in which accommodations have been entered into between the two powers; now a mutual friendship and good will; now a juridical agreement, and again, in new countries, a mutual respect assisted by a broad system of common rights. All these *régimes* have at least this in common, that they are the expression of a real harmony and fundamental accord which, if not expressed, at least subsists implicitly. As an American Bishop has said: America is not a country with a Concordat, but it is for all that a country of the *entente cordial* between the two powers. There is no country in which there is such utter separation as is now contemplated in France—a separation in which each power would ignore the other, and would act as if the other did not exist. Such separation as this is not only rejected by the Church in the name of her teaching, but is declared by common sense to be absurd and impossible. The Church is denounced as greedy of universal domination, but no charge could be further from the truth or more unjust. Her demands are confined to what is possible and useful, but she cannot and will not see her spiritual independence done away with; she will

always protest against injustice and tyranny. So the separation above described simply means war between Church and State. This enables us to understand the reason of the Pope's distress, which is not due to the mere passing of a transitory Concordat but to the proposed destruction of the *entente cordial* and harmony which a tradition of fifteen centuries and the country's whole past would seem to show were the unalterable and permanent principles of the relations between France and the Church. During the whole of the nineteenth century the Concordat was the authentic expression of that understanding and good will. It could not be regarded as eternal; it was the work of a day, a policy. Circumstances and national needs might call for its alteration or modification; the Church, it is understood, cannot expect from a democracy the same privileges as were offered under a dynasty. Meanwhile, until some fresh accommodation between the two shall have been devised, it would be wise not to reject the old agreement, which has given the country religious peace for a hundred years, and is, besides, not so outworn that it could not continue longer. This is the opinion expressed with such moderation and authority by the French Cardinals in their letter to the President of the Republic; and Mgr. Mignot now proceeds in a second section to consider in some detail the working of the Concordat of 1801, and to point out its advantages and disadvantages. Here, then, in thus getting to close quarters with the subject, we change the method of summarizing, which we have so far pursued, for that of continuous translation:

FIRST EFFECTS OF THE CONCORDAT.

We have somewhat forgotten the immense relief which the treaty of 1801 brought to the Catholic people of

France after ten years of bloody revolution and ruin. The bishops and priests proscribed or condemned to prison or death, the churches profaned, the exercise of religion forbidden and forced into secret places, suspicion everywhere rampant, humble citizens prosecuted on lightest pretext; and during the whole time, public morals in dissolution, debauch, pillage, organized brigandage—the fever of a soulless body: such was the spectacle presented by France during this lamentable time. The half appeasement that followed the fall of Robespierre was of brief duration; the tempest broke out more terrible than ever on the 18th Fructidor. In our mountains of the Tarn district, the “Black Band” is still remembered; the families which gave refuge to fugitive priests are still mentioned with deserved honor; the hiding places are still shown to which they retired and from which, at the risk of their lives, they carried the help of their ministry to the scattered faithful. I am aware that the resolution of Brumaire put an end to these excesses, and that the first years of the Consulate saw something done towards building up again what had been destroyed. In 1801 worship had been everywhere resumed, and some 28,000 priests flocking back again from all sides labored to blot out the memory of these dark days. But in the midst of what ruins, and under what uncertainty! How precarious was the position of the Church, which a whim of the master or a turn of fortune could have again destroyed, with neither a legalized existence nor an assured Budget, pastors or future. The unstable *régime* of police and good pleasure the Concordat transformed into a *régime* of right. Peace was signed between the Revolution which had learned wisdom, and the Church which, though bruised, was victorious.

What the government of the First Consul gained I

have not here to investigate, but I know well what were the gains of the Church. The fresh sacrifices to which she had to consent were compensated by the moral advantages which were their result. Her unity, the supremacy of the Pope and his sovereign jurisdiction received incomparable relief. The Concordat of 1801 was the death of Gallicanism. The Bulls "*Ecclesia Dei*" and "*Qui Christi Domini*" were the best preface to the Vatican Council. It is true that the Concordat did not establish the right of Peter, but God used the iron arm of Napoleon to place it, by a striking fact, above all discussion, and to make clear to all eyes the key of the arch of the Church's constitution.

However, the Concordat continued the France of Clovis and of Charlemagne; it allowed her to remain the first of Christian nations and on this title alone it ought to be very dear to us. Whatever sadness such a thought may bring with it, let us never forget this: the separation which is now desired will be the end of the "Church of France" in the glorious sense consecrated by so many centuries. There will be an end of the social work of the great bishops of the fourth and fifth centuries, who, like Hilary of Poitiers, Loup of Troyes, Germain of Auxerre, and nearer home, Clair of Albi, Alan of Lavour, Saturninus of Toulouse, had in some sort cradled the French nation in their arms, formed its soul to their teaching and had made it, at the baptistery of Rheims, the eldest daughter of the Church. From their potent action and the wonderful events with which Providence marked the history of our country, there resulted for the Frankish people a physiognomy of its own, unique in the world, and for the Church which had become one with it a glory and a splendor which no other ever attained.

Of this past, thanks to the Concordat which had restored the tradition broken by the storm of the Revolu-

tion, we were, by our twofold title of priests and Frenchmen, the direct heirs. There has been down to this day a Church which is ours, of which we may say that she belongs to France, closely united though she be to the great Catholic community. This Church is the one that was honored by Charlemagne and St. Louis, protected by Charles Martel and Joan of Arc, rendered illustrious by St. Bernard, Gerson, Bossuet, Vincent of Paul. For our country the end of this glory has come, and for the Church, of this honor. To-morrow will see an end of the Church as an institution of State. In his intemperate language an ex-President of the Council spoke at Auxerre of a speedy divorce: the word was too weak, it should be called a repudiation, and this repudiation is a cruel ingratitude. France casts off the bosom that has borne her, and the breasts that gave her suck. Would you tell me that France is of age and has no further need of tutelage? I grant it, but not so much was needed for her emancipation, and the first consideration due to a mother is that of never denying her. Henceforth in France the Church will be as in a strange land; she will no longer be at home; the State, official France, will know her no more. Despoiled of her title, her dowry, her honor, she will be cast into the street, flung amid the motley crowd of all religions and subjected to a law of police. She will only have homes that are not her own, happy if, in the chance of her search and in her nakedness, she may be permitted to rest her wandering head under the vaults of the temples she has built with her maternal hands. Even under a liberal *régime* of separation that is all we can hope for. This, I say, is profoundly sad for us Catholics and Frenchmen.

THE CONCORDAT'S GIFT OF PEACE.

We should, however, have to resign ourselves to it if

the Concordat of 1801 had not fulfilled its promises and if the present situation were to be laid at its door. But the case is far otherwise. The Concordat has given us a century of profound peace. In the course of the nineteenth century France has been able to change her constitution nine times without the State having met with any serious difficulty from the Church and without any modification in the position of the Church. Except for the unfortunate attitude of Napoleon towards Pius VII., no serious conflict has arisen between the two Powers. To one who knows the bitterness which religious quarrels can assume, and the disastrous consequences that follow, what are the little difficulties always easily settled of which history can tell during the last hundred years?

PRETEXTS FOR SEPARATION ARTIFICIAL.

Even to-day, the pretended conflict with the Vatican which is made to serve as a pretext for separation is quite artificial. It is possible, and indeed I quite believe, that there have been diplomatic mistakes; but they have been systematically exploited in a spirit of determined misunderstanding. The Apostolic Chancellery satisfactorily settled the difficulty on the *Nobis Nominavit* question, by modifying the drafting of the episcopal bulls. On the subject of the appointment of bishops, if the attitude taken up at first seemed to the Government too unyielding, the Holy See has made amends by consenting to examine the selections made by the chief of the State, even though without any preliminary understanding, and by actually ratifying several of the names chosen. The protest of his Holiness against the President of the Republic's visit to Rome might have easily been explained had there been any willingness to listen. The explanation would have weakened or rather effaced whatever the document seemed, in the eyes of an over-sensitive patriotism, to

contain of interference with the liberty of the Republic's relations with foreign powers. It would, moreover, have made clear the real intentions of the Sovereign Pontiff, whose feelings towards France cannot be less full of benevolence than those which he manifests for Italy. In the most delicate affair of all, that of the Bishops of Dijon and Laval, whatever be the rights of the case, the fundamental right of the Holy See as supreme guardian of discipline could not be placed in doubt; as to whether the state of French law allowed its making opportune use, for the exercise of this right, of the direct intermediary of the Nuncio, and whether it were not possible to seek in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, or among diplomatic traditions, other modes of intervention equally effective, is a question which might have been quietly investigated and in any case could not justify the violent ultimatum sent to the Holy See. Let the headlong procedure and the want of respect shown towards Pius X. be compared with the discreet precautions and the infinite care taken in other recent affairs still more embroiling, the Hull incident for example; let the measured language which M. Delcassé uttered the other day in the tribune in regard to the German Emperor's voyage to Tangier, be placed side by side with that which was heard when the Vatican was being dealt with, and we shall gain some idea of the spirit in which religious affairs have been conducted. Such a comparison will not, I fear, reveal any generosity in our international attitude.

The present crisis is not, then, the outcome of the Concordat, which offers, on the contrary, all the means to solve it, but the fault of those whose duty it was to use it. A Government animated by intentions which I will not call conciliatory, but merely pacific, would not take forty-eight hours to settle it honorably for France and

to the joy of the Holy See. The road to Rome to-day runs no longer by Canossa, and the journey is speedier and less difficult than of old.

This crisis proves better than any argument the guarantee for the public peace that is to be found in the maintenance of the Concordat.

THE CLERGY UNDER THE CONCORDAT.

Peace is not, however, so absolute a good that it should be bought at the price of our religious freedom and our dignity. The few Catholics who are, up to now, the declared partisans of separation have insisted strongly on the subjection which the Concordat forces upon the clergy, by the share which it gives the Government in the nomination of its members, or by the salaries which it gives them. According to them the Concordat is a heavy chain which we ought to hasten to break.

Let me be permitted to say at the outset that there is nothing but what is honorable in a clergy having obligations towards the government of its country. It is no displeasure to me, since after God it has seemed good to the Pope that France should stand for something in the statute law of the Church of France. That this association of the State in certain ecclesiastical affairs should impose upon us the duty of respect and at times of circumspection is, I think, perfectly right, and, provided that our essential independence is secured, it should have its place and influence. Every understanding is made up of long suffering and mutual sacrifices. As a matter of fact the Concordat has imposed on the Church no sacrifices from the doctrinal point of view. Gallican theories have disappeared, and dogmas newly defined have entered into religious teaching without the State being disturbed. We must look at the efforts made in these days in the tribune by our enemies in the attempt

to set up a doctrinal incompatibility between Catholicism and the principles of modern society, and thus to arouse a conflict of doctrine, if we would comprehend how useless is such an enterprise.

Nor has the Concordat seriously hindered the preaching of the Gospel. At a time still recent when all public utterance was hampered, and when there was neither liberty of the press nor any right of assembly, we were allowed the free disposal of forty thousand pulpits. As to the interference of the State in nominations, it has, of course, at times had its inconvenience, but what system has not? Has there been in the past, is there in the future a clergy superior in deportment, dignity, professional duty, discipline or orthodoxy to the French clergy of the nineteenth century? The bishops of the Concordat, nominated by the State in concert with the Holy See, will they not as a body bear comparison with those of feudal days and of the ancient *régime*? Read the interesting study which one of the most distinguished members of our diocesan family (the Abbé Sicard) has written on nomination to benefices before the Revolution, and you will have no difficulty in recognizing the advantages which, in this matter, the Concordat has secured to us.

And far from relaxing the bonds which bind the Church of France to the Church Universal, the Concordat has tightened them. The protectorship of the State was not of such gracious sort that it could make us forget our father's house. Never was the principle of unity clearer in the minds and dearer to the hearts of French Catholics than after a hundred years of the Concordat. Not a priest, not a bishop, who could bear for a moment to be separated from communion with Rome. In a too notorious affair in which two bishops seemed to hesitate in obeying an order of the Pope, it was not that they in-

tended to oppose the authority of the Holy See—they have declared as much and have confirmed their words by their acts, and we must, therefore believe them—it was rather because they foresaw the grave complications which must result from it to France and the Church; and their hesitation only lasted a few days.

The Pope not only has our obedience, he has what is worth much more, our veneration and our love. His desires are to us commands; his power is greater than it has ever been, though in some ways curtailed, just because it seems to us more apostolic in character. I have, moreover, been already able to repel with the disdain it deserved the charge of schism which a servile press, arguing on I know not what occult plots, pretended to fling upon a section of our clergy. Schism in France, I have said it and I repeat it, there will be none; there can be none except that of men who, blinded by false zeal, would impose on the clergy and drag them into a policy of adventure. Such a danger is not, perhaps, chimerical at the moment when a redoubtable crisis is opening. May the faithful be as united to their pastors as those are to the Sovereign Pontiff, and may they bear in mind the errors of the *Petite Eglise*!

THE STATE STIPENDS OF THE CLERGY.

Let us now consider the question of ecclesiastical stipends.

Here, again, the Concordat assures security and dignity to the clergy of France. These stipends are small; but they have the advantage of placing us outside the peril of opulence on the one hand and of the humiliation of extreme poverty on the other. The clergy are all the more proud in their evangelical poverty because they are conscious that, in taking the slender contribution of the State, they are receiving neither alms nor salary, but compensa-

tion for the property of the Church made over to the nation. Doubtless certain Ministers have turned this stipend, as Louis XIV. did his royal rights, into an administrative weapon; the Bishops themselves have not been spared; and the poor curés have felt its weight, condemned, oftentimes unheard, to change their parish under penalty of being deprived of their livelihood.

Against the principle of these abuses, against the procedure of the administrative which did not even give the Bishops a chance to control and inquire into the charges alleged, we have lost no opportunity of protesting; we have always stood forth against the *fait du prince* which, on this point, at least, has survived the Revolution. Far be from me the thought of making little of these deplorable methods; but it is necessary to reduce them to their real import. Suppressions of stipends, a sort of periodic epidemic following on electoral periods and the outcome of secret bitterness and unworthy passions, were relatively rare. They resulted in a simple change of place which is considered, wrongly I admit, by the civil administrative, as the lightest of disciplinary penalties; and this change the bishop generally managed to surround with circumstances most consoling to the victim, whether or not he had real grievances,—for sometimes certainly he had.

But in either case, with a little self-denial and a little filial confidence in the bishop, all was repaired. Though not without a protest against the moral violence that had been done to him, the bishop yielded in the interests of peace under the conviction that this was not doing too much for such a result. And the Holy See, when consulted, did not think differently.

AFTER SEPARATION.

Do you think, gentlemen, that your freedom will be

greater, and your dignity more secure, when we shall have to deal no longer with a single Minister of Worship, but with everybody? Henceforward your livelihood will depend on a committee, a group, a local coterie, on the good pleasure of the influential person in the parish whom you shall not have the good fortune to please. There will be no hesitation, rest assured of it, in utilizing against you so easy a form of pressure, and your interests will be once again placed in the balance with the lot of a whole population and the future of a whole parish. I shall not then have the assistance of the secular arm in signing your mandate, and in assuring you the possession of your church and presbytery. To judge by the number of complaints which come to us, and in the way in which they are set forth, suppressions of stipend under this new master will be more numerous and less easy to make up than under official tyranny. It will take a long time to accustom the faithful to respect the independence of the priests and to build up a patrimony which will render the Church free from having to depend on alms, even supposing, of course, that the law would permit such a thing. Meanwhile we shall have need of much virtue, and, over and over again, we shall certainly have to recall those words of the Gospel which stand as the supreme rule before which the wisest protective measures of the Canon Law itself will have to give way: "And when they shall persecute you in this city, flee into another" (Matt. x. 23).

You may, perhaps, think that you will escape this danger by pooling the monies earmarked for ecclesiastical stipends in a diocesan fund; but remember, the people will as soon keep back contributions to this central fund, as they will refuse you your own stipends. Such a situation will come about whenever prejudice shall become active. I am quite aware that the bishop will take meas-

ures for your defence, that he will endeavor to get together reserve funds raised by way of a tax upon the income of local associations in order to meet the first difficulties; but these are extraordinary measures, and such a form of resistance can be but limited.

NATIONAL FEDERATION.

For the same reason we must not reckon on the independence of the clergy being secured by national federation, of which we have heard so much. Great advantages assuredly it will have, and amongst others that of raising resources for the assistance of districts that have suffered most, and of poor parishes; but it would be to deceive ourselves to hope that such an organization can undertake the regular maintenance of the whole clergy. Its assistance will be most precious; but, from a financial point of view, it can only take the form of temporary and partial subventions like those distributed by the Society for the Propaganda of the Faith and the Schools of the East. The real resources of a parish will always be those of the district, and come spontaneously from the generosity of the faithful, who will give for their church, for their curé, for the worship in which they share; it would be difficult to interest them to the same degree in an institution far away, which, perhaps, they consider to be already better off than they are themselves. Many gifts will be made in kind; the curé will be offered the use of a house, a garden, a field; and such things are not removable. Most of you, I have no doubt, already reckon that they will succeed in finding the means of livelihood in their parishes; but they would not dare to promise to be able to raise an equivalent amount to send outside. Our future churches, like trees to the shade of which generations come for rest, must have their roots deep in the soil on which they stand; that will be the first condi-

tion of their life, and every other way of viewing them could only be artificial and precarious.

FACILITIES OFFERED BY THE CONCORDAT.

Another reason why I shall regret the Concordat, and one which I am sure will appeal to you, is the facilities it secured to the priestly ministry for the salvation of souls. I am well aware that God will not allow any soul to be lost for want of means; but we, who are the ministers of the ordinary means of salvation, cannot be indifferent to their diffusion. The actual organization of the Church of France has very large limits, almost too wide for the real faithful. These limits embrace a crowd of souls whose Catholicism is, or seems to be, purely nominal, and the fact is a cause of weakness to religious society. But they are at heart always open. At grace's appointed time, souls that are touched, or merely troubled, have not to seek far for the hearth at which they will find light and comfort; the Church as easily extends a welcome to the laborers of the eleventh hour as to those of the first; her words reach nearly all the children; her consolations are carried to nearly all the dying. There is a priest in all the villages of France. The Christian idea is thus everywhere maintained, hovering over the whole country; no man's conscience is wholly a stranger to it, and the spark of faith smoulders on under the ashes at the bottom of the hearts that are coldest. We cannot without deep sorrow see these means of action restricted for want of resources. Our religious establishments cannot subsist except in places where the zeal of the faithful shall prove to be great enough to sustain them. The indifference of a great number, which now troubles us as a very grave evil, will henceforth become a deadly evil. In proportion as the Church shall disappear from public life, her social prestige will for the moment slacken, and

the bonds that still bind her to family customs will be loosened; we shall see an increase in the number of unbaptized children, of irregular marriages, of people dying without the Sacraments, of secular funerals. Especially will the poor and the country people suffer, not because our zeal will pass them by, but because it will be more and more difficult to attend to them. In certain districts several parishes will be easily grouped together; but that will not be possible among the mountains, where the distance between them is great. We shall, certainly, with the devoted help which we can always depend upon from you, do our best to apply a remedy to all these evils; but what priest's heart does not shudder at the thought of souls hungering for God and lost in misery? "The little ones have asked for bread and there was none to break it unto them" (Lament. iv. 4).

At the same time all our works will be stricken; works of the apostolate and of Christian solidarity abroad such as the Propagation of the Faith, the Holy Childhood, and Peter Pence; works of zeal at home, schools, patronages, and works of assistance and protection. The recruiting of the clergy will face us as a new problem; the heavy cost of the seminaries and of higher ecclesiastical studies, more necessary than ever before, will press still more heavily upon the generosity of the faithful. We shall not allow the accumulated efforts of our fathers to crumble away in our hands, and we know that necessity will give birth to heroism. It is, however, absolutely necessary to look all difficulties squarely in the face before the time-honored pact is abolished which has, up to the present, given us peace and security.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

This pact, it will be said, has not prevented the recent attacks of which the Church's most venerable institutions have been the victims; our denominational schools, our

teaching congregations, whilst other destruction looms ahead, have been destroyed by legislation of increasing hostility. The Concordat has not, it is true, prevented these things, but they have been done in defiance of its spirit. Separation will not restore what has been ruined; far from curing, it will but aggravate the evil.

But at least, it will be further contended, separation will open to the clergy the vast field of political action which has hitherto been closed to them. Yes, political action will be permitted to the priest, and a powerful lever it will be, but on condition, is it not so? that it shall be a Church policy, and not one of this party or that; on condition that the priest, whose every act, even in private life, is subjected to a rigorous discipline, shall submit in this grave matter to the direction of his hierarchial chiefs; on condition that this political action shall be restricted to the defence of the interests of religion; on condition that it shall remain evangelical in its form, and shall not result in compromising his ministry with the souls committed to his charge; on condition that the working of this powerful lever shall be delicately managed and shall not have the speedy results for which some people hope.

The general state of men's minds will be the same after separation as it is to-day; it would be puerile to think that it will change by the morrow. There will be the same combatants, the same violent struggles, the same passions, the same ambitions, the same interests among the electorate. Politics are a dangerous friend not to be trusted. His play is not sure; he often slides into our hand cards that are bad. The honor and interests of the Church are in our keeping; you know what ineradicable prejudice our past want of success has accumulated against her. Under the influence of the Gospel

society may undergo profound modifications, but it takes time and even requires martyrs. It has always been so, and it is truer still to-day in the midst of our jealous and prejudiced democracy. Clerical interference in public affairs is odious to most of our contemporaries; will it be any the less odious after separation? Our object is not to fling the Church into the strife of parties in order to capture a short-lived domination, but to place her outside and above them, in a region fenced off, which respect for the rights of conscience protects against all violence, and from which the light may shine around serenely upon the souls of all.

Thus the same prudence which the Concordat imposed upon us in political matters will be counselled us by common sense when separation shall be brought about. In any case, on this point more than any other, a strict subordination to the directions of the bishops will be absolutely necessary. Those directions will be the more necessary the more precarious becomes the position of the Church, and they will be all the more firm because they will be based, I hope and trust, on a more formal cohesion of the whole episcopate.

CLERGY'S LACK OF AUTONOMY.

Here I come to the gravest objection that can be urged against the *régime* of the Concordat; though really it is not so much to be laid to the charge of the Concordat itself as of the Cæsarean traditions which have been perpetuated under all forms of government down to our own days. The most serious fault of the present system, and to my mind the principal cause of our disappointment, is that the clergy of France have never been able to have, in the face of the public authorities, who are naturally jealous as to their powers, any autonomy. We have neither assemblies, councils, nor synods; no link of con-

nection between our scattered members; and so no concert, no deliberation, no common action is possible. The result of this state of things was inevitable. The bishops, being deprived of all collective authority, being condemned to isolation and to isolated individual action, have lost in personal authority, though they have at the same time been held responsible for certain incidents which they have been the first to deplore. The closing of the mouth of the episcopate has deprived the bishops of any effective direction over religious interests, which has thus been abandoned to politicians who, besides having no mandate for it, have oftentimes been incompetent for the task and not infrequently more anxious to make the most of difficulties than to solve them. Thus, little by little, the disastrous misunderstanding between Church and State has been aggravated. Would the Government have lost what it most valued? We do not think so. From the episcopal conference, composed of men whose age and position invested them with a real authority, there would certainly have been supplied a better and larger understanding of religious and social events, a more exact comprehension of opportunities, a clearer direction and one better adapted to the needs of the country. The authority, strength and light even which no one bishop could scarcely command in his isolated position, would have been found in conference with his brethren. Thus would the Church of France have had a soul, a life and a mind of her own; and there can be no shadow of doubt that this mind would have shown itself generous and patriotic. At the hour when the gravest and most difficult problems came up for settlement; when the political order was being transformed by the transference of the seat of authority; when the domain of economics was clamoring for urgent reforms before the irresistible

movement of social evolution; when the most marvellous scientific development imperiously called for a parallel development in the sacred sciences; at the hour when everything was being transformed, so to speak; when the future was going to belong to the most active and the quickest, the clergy would not have taken up the passive attitude with which we have been reproached; they would have utilized the high influence to which their position gave them the right for the benefit of peace and of progress. It is this influence, at once moderating and progressive, of which the episcopate will not fail again to repossess themselves, and that will perhaps be the chief benefit of separation. I may be allowed to say, however, that the Concordat, had it been better understood in its spirit than in its letter, would have procured the same advantages for the country and for religion. It would have been sufficient had a hand truly liberal freed the Organic Articles of certain obsolete clauses. There can be no question that with the advance of public spirit liberty of assembly would have been won by the Church of the Concordat; for she would certainly have found statesmen who would have allowed her a right which is no longer refused to any professional body.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF ALBI.

—*London Tablet.*

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Protest of the French Cardinals Against the Separation Bill

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC:

SIR.—The discussion of the proposed law for the separation of Church and State has given rise throughout all France to serious and gloomy forebodings. Not only are the interests of religion involved, the welfare of

France is also affected. The representatives of the dissenting religious sects have presented their remonstrances either to the Committee of the Chamber of Deputies having charge of the Bill, or to the Minister of Public Worship. Is it surprising that we present our remonstrances to the head of the State in the name of the entire hierarchy, assured as we are that we give expression to the sentiments of the clergy and of the faithful who share with us our religious belief? It is not our intention to enter upon an irritating discussion. We only wish to offer some observations about the difficulties created by the proposed law and make known the resolutions it will force Catholics to take:

(1) The Concordat of 1801 secured for us religious peace during a hundred years. Its abrogation would throw France back into that state of moral and social disorganization which all right-thinking men complained of after the country emerged from the violence of the Revolution. There are no grounds for the pretense that the abrogation of the Concordat is the result of measures taken by the Pope. This allegation was effectively refuted in the Chamber of Deputies during the session of February 10.

(2) If the Concordat should cease to exist there would devolve upon us the duty of claiming for religion the liberty and the respect for its rights founded on incontestable titles. There should be at least a willingness not to suppress the laws of justice and equity so far as the Church is concerned. Now the proposed law contains features which grievously wound the Catholic conscience. So far from liberty being accorded to Catholics after the separation, there will be forced upon them a new organization, directly opposed to the principles of the Catholic religion.

(3) According to the proposed law now before Parlia-

ment, the existence of the Catholic Church after separation would be dependent upon government by associations for religious worship. These associations being organized wholly independent of the authority of the bishops and of the parish priests, would in themselves be a negation of the constitution of the Church, and would pave the way for a schism. The essentially vicious character of these associations for religious worship consists in their creating a purely lay organization which would be forced upon the Catholic Church.

(4) Catholics cannot admit that their churches may be taken away from them. Just as in 1789 the property of the clergy was "put at the disposal of the nation" to prevent public bankruptcy, so the churches through the Concordat were again "placed at the disposal of the bishops." There had been a transfer of property in the first case. By what right can the selfsame words in the second case be construed as a high-flown, stereotyped phrase which may be repudiated at any time? To change, then, the ownership of the churches is a violation of justice. Catholics have a right, and it is their duty, to retain for themselves the use of their churches, parish houses and other ecclesiastical property.

(5) The suppression of the budget for public worship is a violation of one of the most important clauses of the Concordat. There was need of undoing the injustice wrought by the revolutionary decrees, of settling men's conscientious scruples and of securing an unclouded title for individual holders of church property. The Church surrendered all rights of reclaiming this property. In return the State pledged itself to furnish an endowment for the clergy. The complete suppression of the budget for religious worship would be the refusal to carry out a clear obligation born of a contract and formulated in the most formal terms in the constitution of 1791, the

language of which it is well to recall here: "The salary of the Catholic clergy," it declares, "constitutes a part of the national debt." This act of repudiation will profoundly disturb the public conscience.

(6) In conclusion we demand that the Concordat, or, in other words, the existing understanding between civil society and the Church, be maintained, and, if there should be an occasion to modify it, let this be done with the common consent of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities.

In addressing these observations to the head of the State in a frank and respectful manner and without any sentiment of hostility, we have desired to fulfil our duty to the Church and to France. We love the Church and France with the same love. In acting as we have we are convinced that we have complied with the necessities of the situation. France desires not a political upheaval, neither does she wish to see a religious persecution. The proposed separation of Church and State will necessarily lead to religious persecution which will not be the expression of the nation's will.

In speaking in the way we have spoken to-day we, as French Bishops, have discharged our responsibilities to the country. We are unwilling to abandon the hope that it will recognize the truth and the sincerity of our sentiments. If it needs be that we suffer from the bitter hostility of anti-Christian organizations we shall never cease to love France and pray for her.

Accept, sir, the expression of our profound respect.

✠ FRANCIS CARDINAL RICHARD, Archbishop of Paris.

✠ ADOLPH LOUIS ALBERT CARDINAL PERRAUD,
Bishop of Autun.

✠ PETER CARDINAL COULLIÉ, Archbishop of Lyons.

✠ V. L. CARDINAL LECOY, Archbishop of Bordeaux.

✠ J. CARDINAL LABOURÉ, Archbishop of Rennes.

The French Separation Bill.*



THE regret which I have expressed on the subject of the Concordat and the sincere desire I have for its maintenance, or at least its modification by a new agreement between the Holy See and the French Republic, ought not to prevent us from an impartial examination of the Bill dealing with the regulation of worship, which is now under consideration in Parliament.

I have given a sufficiently full explanation of the principle of a regulation of religious affairs made without any consultation of the ecclesiastical authorities. Apart from the clumsiness almost inevitable in a legislator wanting in competence—and the present Bill furnishes several examples of it—the attempt is in itself an arbitrary act quite devoid of political good faith. It is, moreover, idle for any political power in the world to act as if the Church did not exist; to ignore her or to legislate for her without her consent is to despise the legitimacy of her primordial rights, to treat her as an enemy. Let it not be urged that it is below the dignity of the State to come to terms with the Church; the State which is every day signing conventions not only with neighboring States, but also within its own boundaries with shipping, mining or railway companies, with banks or artistic societies, would in no way demean itself by entering into conversation either with the official representatives of the Church

* Translation of that portion of his letter to his clergy in which the Archbishop of Albi examines the Separation Bill now under discussion in the French Chamber.

of France, or with the head of the Universal Church, the greatest moral power in the world. Let the State refuse recognition to any political power but its own, that is right enough; let it not allow the existence of a State within a State, we are with it in that; but that it should pretend to absorb all forms of social activity; that it should not recognize autonomy in other societies whose object is different from its own; that it should refuse these societies any rights in connection with its own—this is one of the most tyrannous errors bequeathed to us by what Napoleon called "ideology," from which he himself was not free.

The State cannot do everything; the State is not the only society; it is not, as has been maintained in the Chamber, the sole source of the right of association. This right is a natural right logically anterior to the State, a right of which the constitution of the State is but one of the most legitimate applications, and which the constitution of the State neither exhausts nor abolishes. To pretend that even society holds its existence from the State, and that consequently the State has full power over the regulation, constitution and economic system of the societies it tolerates, that it is the sovereign arbiter and even proprietor of their property; this is not only a theoretical error, but one which is denied by facts.

It is not owing to the State that there exist associations of men which are determined by the facts of birth, neighborhood, the configuration of the country, private interests, tastes, sentiments, beliefs. Before modern States came into existence, there were towns, villages, and hamlets which were real communities with their peculiar life and usages, answering certain real social needs that have nothing political about them, and that do not in any way concern the State. The State indeed recognizes

these natural societies which are anterior to it, but it has not created them; and the discretionary power which it has assumed over the communes is certainly an excessive power which will wear itself out. For a like and even stronger reason the Catholic Church existed before the State. She has seen the birth one by one of all modern States and been their teacher; before they were she had her hierarchy, her property, her rights; the constitution of the State, which was not achieved till the sixteenth century, has to some extent modified the exercise of those rights and the juridical system of the property, but it could not change the nature, still less annihilate or absorb a society so many centuries older, whose object remained by its very essence outside the competence of the State.

The Church has, as a matter of fact, resisted all attempts at absorption, as she will resist all attempts for her destruction.

Hence it comes from the simple point of view of facts, and without taking account of the higher rights which the Church holds of her divine Founder, that justice and common sense would require, as I have already explained, that the regulation of her establishment and of her interests in France was the result of an amicable conciliation and not a brutal act of a single authority.

THE PRECARIOUS CHARACTER OF THE BILL.

But further, besides this reason of principle, the Bill which is in preparation should be suspect on another ground: it is precarious. Religious institutions require peace and stability. The law changes as do those who make it—and in our days legislators pass quickly. Even were it liberal and sincerely favorable to the development of our Churches, this law could give us but insuffi-

cient guarantees. The Concordat was a bilateral contract, it rested on faith solemnly exchanged: that, as we see, counts little with some men, and the very highest forms of human right are but a frail defence when not supported and held by force. Still less can we count on a Bill which the caprice of a party may modify, aggravate and change to its taste. Rightly has it been said that the religious settlement of a country ought to form part of its constitutional law. Constitutions are not indeed everlasting, but they are less unstable than ordinary laws. We are then, after a sincere effort to adapt the organization of our churches to the laws, threatened with the rejection of our good will, the destruction of our work, and the throwing of everything into the melting-pot for the sake of one of those equivocations which the violent can always discover, and of which they avail themselves to entrap the weak. The case of the law of July 1, 1901, on associations, perverted by the interpretation placed upon it by the Chamber in a moment of electoral bitterness, and aggravated by subsequent legislation, should inspire us with little confidence.

The liberal declarations of the framers of the Bill are already weakened by the open avowals of those at whose beck and call they are. For these last the Bill is but a mere measure of transition, a necessary step in the irresistible march of free thought; in their eyes religion is an error that must be cast out and Catholicism its worst form. Do not ask them why; their wish is their reason. The descendants of those who declared "Perish our colonies rather than principle" would tell you, "Perish Christianity rather than the irreligion of the State."

I will refrain from mentioning names, but I do not think I am misrepresenting the mind and secret hopes of certain double-faced personages who have played an

important part in this parliamentary campaign. Numerous counter projects, described to-day as inopportune or premature, give us a presentiment of what the projects of the morrow will be, if nothing comes to stop this fatal march and if the public conscience does not draw back in time. Accordingly our anxiety is great, for the future is full of uncertainty.

Oh, how he would misjudge our mind and be unjust towards the Church who should doubt our readiness for the greatest sacrifices in order to obtain lasting peace for the consciences of Christian men and our beloved country! Let people recall the attitude of the Church during the first days of Revolution, the dawning, to all seeming, so brilliant of the new times. With what high hopes, with what pure and ardent patriotism was she not animated! For the public peace and prosperity, for the re-establishment in France of the equilibrium that had been shaken, the Church of France in a passionate ardor which almost overpassed its legitimate rights, sacrificed at a swoop her rank, her privileges, her honors, her riches; she gave up to the nation her livelihood and her necessities. And we, in our turn, were we sure, by giving up with the Concordat the little that remains to us, of dissipating all the misunderstandings, of quenching all hatred and stilling forever the religious strife which for twenty years has distracted our country, should think little of this final self-spoliation! But, alas, the cruel lessons of history choke down such hopes!

IF THE BILL WERE LIBERAL.

But however uncertain the future may be, and however regrettable the very principle of separation, we ought to put aside all prejudice. Our patriotism and our faith impose upon us the duty, in the face of certain evil, to

second the efforts of those who are striving to make the law as little harmful as possible, and to convert it into what they call a liberal law. Were it such I have no doubt that the Church would loyally give it a fair trial. A truly liberal measure which would safeguard the essential liberty of the apostolic ministry, respect the sentiments of the faithful, and make an equitable and just settlement of temporal interests, such a law, in spite of its original defect, would, I say, be able to bring in a provisory *régime* of comparative tranquillity, of mutual good will, under which, as quarrels died down, we should see the disappearance of the present antagonism and perhaps the establishment between the Republic and the Holy See, failing a formal agreement, of an exchange of relations at first loyal, then cordial and frank, similar to those which exist to-day in certain countries. The *entente cordiale* arising out of a fresh adaptation of political and religious institutions to their mutual necessities would flourish spontaneously over the forgetfulness of past strife; an implicit solution would be given to the great problem of the relations between Church and State; and this solution, without any sacrifice of principle, would gradually prepare the definitive settlement of the conditions of existence and action of spiritual society in the midst of democracy.

This hypothesis is doubtless but a dream; but as it is possible, seeing that it was realized in the course of last century in countries where, as in ours, religious revolutions took place, we ought not altogether to ignore it.

I have said that in such a hypothesis the new law would have to be inspired and dominated by a broad spirit of liberalism and equity. Such certainly are not the dispositions of the Parliamentary majority. But they have a place in the breasts of many, and those who have fol-

lowed in the *Journal Officiel* the course of the discussion, have been struck by its grandeur and elevation. Serious efforts have been made, even by men who do not share our belief, to remove all pretext of affront in the application of the new law. These intentions, whether disinterested or not, are highly praiseworthy.

Unfortunately the question is most complicated and difficult to solve. To the difficulties inherent in the regulation of so delicate a matter is to be added the liquidation of the long and heavy legacy of the past.

Let us briefly define our position.

THE PRINCIPLE OF THE BILL.

By declaring that henceforward it will cease to make provision for religious worship, and will leave the task to the free conscience of its citizens, the State abolishes the various legal bodies which it had constituted for the maintenance of worship: episcopal and curial *menses*, *fabriques*, seminaries and consistories are to disappear and be replaced by what are called associations of worship, which ought by their very character to *spring spontaneously from the initiative of the faithful of a particular denomination*, and the very *raison d'être* of which is to represent the material and moral interests of that denomination before the law. These associations, duly constituted, will receive from the establishments now existing the property they hold; they will be empowered, after a short period of free tenancy, to rent the churches and other property which the State or the Communes may be willing to let to them; they will, in fine, share with ministers of religion the responsibility for religious worship, for which purpose they will be authorized to receive subscriptions and donations, but only within certain limits strictly defined.

Such is the broad outline of this Bill, which I do not in this letter intend to discuss in all its details.

When it is compared with the other Bills with which we are threatened, we cannot but give credit to its authors for the liberal effort they have made in its drafting; but I am compelled to declare that very serious modifications are necessary if it is to serve as a basis for the attempt at pacification which we all desire, and that in certain of its most important provisions, *it is absolutely unacceptable.*

THE QUESTION OF THE CHURCHES.

Without entering into the domain of conscience, and confining ourselves to an inspection quite superficial, the most shocking of these provisions is that concerning the churches and other buildings devoted to religious worship, which must, at the very outset, shock the common feeling of the community. I do not wish to deal with the legal question of the proprietorship of these buildings; the matter has been set forth in the Chamber by different speakers in the fullest way, and I should add nothing to what they have so luminously shown. I will here content myself with pointing out that even on the narrow ground of strict legality, any peremptory conclusion would be disputable. The origin of buildings later than the Concordat is easily determinable; generally speaking, they belong to the State or to the communes, in few instances to the *fabriques*. But even those which are least disputably the property of the communes could not be reclaimed except on conditions, seeing that they were built in great part out of the voluntary subscriptions of the faithful. Still less easy is it to determine the proprietorship of buildings anterior to the Concordat. These were undoubtedly erected from Church pence, but some con-

tend that the proprietorship was handed over to the State by the Constituent Assembly, and after that to the communes by various decrees of the Directory and the Consulate. Others, again, with much plausibility, maintain that the old property of the *fabriques* of the ancient régime has, in spite of all changes, been legally transmitted to the new *fabriques* set up in their stead, and that the present *fabriques* are, in very deed, the proprietors of the property in question.

THE QUESTION OF EQUITY.

But there is one point of view which dominates the whole debate—that of equity. Whether the churches belong to the State, to the *fabriques* or the communes, whether they are in origin earlier or later than the Concordat, one fact leaps to sight: they are *churches*, built for Catholic worship, and for that alone. Catholics have paid for them either by direct subscriptions or by way of rates and through the intermediary of their legal representatives; own them by a sort of immemorial prescriptive right, and by an allotment that is unassailable; therein they have been baptized, made their first communion, prayed, wept, and hoped; and to those sacred walls, which often shelter the tombs of their fathers, their faith and hope naturally cling. They love these churches; they have garnished and adorned them; they cannot, and ought not, to abandon them; and no one has the right to take them from them. We have no call to buy these buildings or to rent them; our duty and our right is to use them. It is monstrous that the faithful should have to pay rent for a building which they erected at their own cost, monstrous that they may be evicted at the end of ten or twelve years, and that such a leaven of discord should be placed in the midst of every parish.

Such, then, is the importance, if peace is desired, of this question of proprietorship, for nothing else in truth can be made of these churches but churches, without firing the torch of the most deplorable of wars.

Let the State or the communes claim the proprietorship in chief if they will; let this proprietorship be recognized by an acknowledgment in principle of a franc a year; but the use of them should be left to the faithful without any discussion or restriction of time. Better still, in place of losing and wasting ourselves in disputes such as these, why, if peace be sincerely desired, should not these useless formalities of leasing and renting, and these futile pretensions of proprietorship be abandoned? Why not take up again the wide and pliant formula, which a century ago rendered such good service, and say quite simply: "Churches and other edifices consecrated to worship are *placed at the disposal* of the legal representatives of the denominations to which they are allotted, as long as the worship of those denominations can therein be carried out."

THE ASSOCIATIONS OF WORSHIP.

This brings me to a second difficulty in the Bill, less evident at first sight but more delicate than the former, because it concerns the conscience of the faithful and touches the organization—I was going to say the very constitution—of the Church. The legal representatives of the various religions will be the *Associations of Worship*, which are to take the place of the *menses* and *fabriques*. These associations will receive from the hands of the *fabriques* and *menses* the heritage of their property, and in cases of dispute between two associations of worship, the courts are to decide.

A most serious question is raised by these provisions.

We have no call to cry out against the mere principle of the passage of the property of the *fabriques* to the associations of worship: the Church is well aware that the property of the churches belongs to the community of their members. With due reserve of the rights of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in this matter, we think that in the actual state of our society the only practical solution is to leave it to the courts to decide in cases of dispute. But what is inconceivable and altogether inadmissible is that the law should not provide the courts with any means of justifying their decision! I am quite aware that the courts will obtain information; that they will institute inquiries and surveys; that they will get enlightenment from the opinion of counsel and from the evidence of witnesses; but after what rule, what principle of direction? But take a divided commune—political rivalries, religious intolerance, jealousy, hatred, personal questions of any sort—wherein two rival associations lay claim to the same property: churches, funds, real or personal estate. Which is to have them? The one that counts most members? the oldest? that which has secured the co-operation of the minister of the religion previously established there? or that which has obtained a new one? But neither numbers, length of years, nor the presence of a priest are sufficient to constitute, for the exercise of Catholic worship, an association of worship legitimately established. Is then the court to be the judge of orthodoxy? It is not competent. Or will it set this consideration aside? If it does, there will be nothing to assist it in discriminating between legitimate and illegitimate pretensions. The “associations of worship” will be equal before the law, without any real distinction of belief or practice; and it will happen that the property of a Lutheran church may fall into the hands of Calvinists,

that that of a Catholic church will serve to found a sect of dissidents. And mark, this property is not an absolute possession; it is burdened with definite charges, Masses and various Offices which can only be fulfilled in the communion of their founders: is it right that they should be diverted?

I know that the Bill does not forbid the associations to assign in their statutes a place to the curé to give control to the bishop; nor consequently does it forbid the bishop from laying down by a diocesan regulation the conditions to which the associations will have to submit in order to be in communion with him. With him as chief, and provided that this *essential liberty* is not paralyzed by the regulations of the public administrative which will be issued with the law, the associations of worship would not be strictly speaking schismatical. But the form of organization as provided is quite insufficient, as it is not covered by any guarantee; the courts are not obliged to take cognisance of it; the text of the bill even seems to invite them to ignore it, and to consider only the presumptive right of citizens to form rival associations and to claim all or part of the property of the associations already organized. The danger reappears then as soon as the least dispute arises, and the danger is twofold. For, on the one hand, what a temptation there is for those who are ill-disposed in a parish to claim from their rivals the church, presbytery, stocks, and reserve funds, etc. An influential *coterie* will be enough to imperil all order and unity. And, on the other hand, in the case of a bishop desiring to interfere, as he ought, against an insubordinate association, and especially if a priest is unfortunately associated with the revolt and supports it, what is the bishop to do against this rising schism? When he has exhausted his spiritual weapons, he will

have no means of saving the temporalities of the compromised community, nor of safe-guarding the interests of the true faithful; for the court will not be bound to take him into account. Thus all spiritual jurisdiction will be held in check and hung up, for it will have no foundation whether real or juridical.

A REMEDY.

Is there then no remedy against this twofold danger? Yes, and a very simple one. All that is necessary is to drop the vague abstractions in which the Bill affects, under pretext of withholding official recognition from all forms of worship, to ignore things that are the stubbornest realities. All that is necessary is that it should be plainly recognized that there is, in fact, a Church Catholic, Apostolic and Roman, organized in dioceses and parishes in the clearest manner; that there are Protestant and Jewish consistories which have their own form of internal discipline; and when they shall have brought to light this great mystery, to make the law say to the courts: "You shall judge the affairs of each religion according to the laws and constitutions of that religion, and award each one his own."

The Reporter of the Bill declared in the tribune that the law had nothing to do either with the prevention or the provocation of schism. But to place the property of organized churches within the grasp of schism, is not this to put a premium on it? And if it were desired to destroy these churches by utter disorganization, would any other form of procedure be followed?

This is what we cannot then accept.

RESTRICTIONS ON LIBERTY.

The seriousness of the question which we have just touched upon leaves on a plane of quite secondary im-

portance several other points in the Bill which would otherwise deserve the closest individual examination. And in the first place there is matter for astonishment in the number of restrictions which the legislator places upon that "liberty" which the first article promises to all religions. Why frame a special law instead of being content with the common law which in a free country ought of itself to guarantee all legitimate liberties? Alas! the reason is that France is not a "free" country, and that we have no "common law;" or at least it is so meagre, so fenced in on every hand, that it is almost unanimously recognized as altogether inadequate for the simplest of all liberties—liberty of conscience. On its behalf, therefore, it has been necessary to add one more law to the many others for the enlargement of the common law that forbids so much; but the opportunity was too good a one for the prohibition of certain others in addition, for the legislature to miss it. The mania for regulating everything, for harassing and paralyzing everything by administrative shackles has this time marvellously well served the deep, hostile distrust of religion and its manifestations which lurks behind the serene façade of the Bill. And so we have innumerable conditions and precautions, displayed in a long series of articles and resting on a whole arsenal of penalties.

Thus, for example, the associations of worship may receive perpetual foundations, but not for the maintenance of ministers of religion; as if we had no right to lighten for coming generations the burden that weighs upon ours. Reserve funds may be established, but they must not exceed the ordinary expenses of a year of maintenance; as if so limited a provision was not absolutely insufficient. Subscriptions and gifts may be collected from individuals, but no subventions may be received

from the departments or the communes, which may nevertheless continue to give subventions to theatres and choral societies. The funds which may be started for the purchase or repair of buildings will have to be deposited in the *Caisse des dépôts et consignations*, as if they were not big enough to look after their own fortunes and spend them at their own pleasure.

Their funds will thus be very limited; and will be under the jealous surveillance of the agents of the State and under the severest penalties. I could understand that for economic reasons the law should place limitations on the real estate of the churches; but why shackle on this point the development of their personal property, which rests on credit, and the increase and security of which, far from being a burden to the public wealth, can only consolidate it?

For some days past there has been talk of placing the associations of worship under the *régime* of establishments of public utility, and of submitting the principal part of their administration to the control of the Council of State. This would seriously harass the Churches which are refused recognition, and would be a handy but dubious sort of guardianship for the protection of their liberty. Then, again, assemblies for the celebration of worship are to be public. Why? Is it in order to give the idle and indifferent the right of taking part in the exercise of worship without having to contribute to the charges of the association? In freeing itself from any responsibility for this "public service," is the State to be solicitous about not seeing it disappear? We ought to be given the right to close our doors and to admit only those we will. By ceasing to be a State institution religion becomes a private matter; it ought to gain in cohesion and discipline what it loses in extent and social prestige.

The Bill furthermore provides that there must be no treatment of politics or elections from the pulpit; it would be better to leave the matter to ministers of religion who know what is due to their ministry, and who under the new *régime* will regain outside the church their full liberty as citizens. As it is, the Bill supplies acceptable opportunities for odious harassing and denunciation. In any case the penalties set forth for these offences and others are indications of a meticulous anxiety which the generally correct attitude of the clergy has done nothing to call for.

SUPPRESSION OF THE BUDGET OF PUBLIC WORSHIP.

I cannot refrain from saying a word on the suppression of the Budget of Worship, which is to accompany separation.

We have already considered above how inconvenient this suppression will be to the freedom of your ministry, and to its fair redistribution over the various parts of the country. If I now return to the subject it is less, as you can believe, to defend your personal interests, which are nevertheless sacred to me, than because I cannot shirk the question of justice which it involves. It is pretended that in the proximate eventuality of separation it is this point which most alarms us; that the love of riches is the principal cause of our resistance to the reforms of Parliament, and people affect to see in it a fresh proof of the "avarice of Churchmen."

Even if some of these poor priests who have consecrated their lives to the service of souls should betray anxiety at seeing themselves deprived of the bread of their declining days, I should see no harm in it. This charge about love of money appears more than strange when it is remembered that with a very few exceptions ecclesiastical

stipends range from no more than 1,200 to 400 francs. This is not a scale of wealth to entangle the disinterestedness of the French clergy, who, if they do put in a claim for so slender a subsidy, must be driven to do so by very good reasons.

Yes, there are serious reasons for urging, so far as it depends on us, the right of the clergy to the indemnity awarded by the Concordat; and the first is that even though we might renounce for ourselves the personal security which the State stipend affords us, we have no right to treat the interests of the faithful so cheaply. For it is not so much our own poor purse as theirs that we defend, and that is the way in which they ought to regard our action. After all the priest must live. If he receives nothing from the public purse he must get something from the generosity of private persons. This will be a new tax, voluntary indeed but inevitable, which will fall upon Catholics. And if there is a disposition to think that Catholics will not be for that reason dispensed from the charges common to the nation at large; if it be added that amongst these national charges there are some certainly which ought to free them forever from the obligation of paying their priests; that an enormous mass of Church property, accumulated for this very object by the piety of their forefathers has been given up to the Republic precisely for the same purpose; that consequently in regard to them rather than the clergy a form of spoliation and a denial of justice is about to be effected—then perhaps people will understand that it is not becoming for us to keep silence on this question of stipends, and abandon them without some fair compensation. It is a question of the rights of the Christian community far more than of our own.

ANCIENT CHURCH PROPERTY AND PRESENT STIPENDS.

Now we have here no mere hypothesis but the expression of a truth of history. The National Assembly declared that property of the clergy was placed at the disposal of the nation, and undertook to fulfil the charges with which the property was saddled, and notably the maintenance of public worship and its ministers. However open to discussion this legislative act may be—for, as we have said, it is only by a huge deviation that the State assumed proprietorship in chief over Church property—my own purpose here is to establish the close connection which there is between the old ecclesiastical property and present stipends.

This correlation was recognized, brought out into prominence, and strengthened by the deliberations which took place ten years later between Bernier and Spina in preparing the Concordat. It was ratified by Articles 13 and 14 of the Concordat itself and the high authority of Pius VII., regularized by a bilateral convention, an arrangement which neither the nation had any right to impose nor the clergy of France any right to agree to. Out of this convention sprang the Budget of Worship.

To compare, as people are doing, the stipends of ecclesiastics with those of functionaries is simply to confound a *debt* with a *salary*. To pretend that because a public service is suppressed stipends ought to go with it, is to forget that it is not for the Republic to suppress the service, seeing that it cannot change the needs of souls, and that if it wishes to free itself of this service, it ought to redeem its obligation.

I admit that public right does not imply the same rigor as private right, and that it would in equity be too much on this ground to demand a strict equivalent. The Convention of the year X. is the best witness of the

breadth with which the Church is disposed to deal with questions of this kind. But the fundamental principles of justice are the same for peoples as for individuals. It is not by legal subtlety that the relation of fact which history has established between the Church of the Concordat and the old Gallican Church can be suppressed. No one in the world will succeed in annihilating that past, in abolishing the conditions which it has created, in doing away with the open account that exists between France and the Holy See. And no arbitrary act will close it.

I have already stated that conciliation could issue from mutual accord. But I doubt whether our public authorities are disposed to accept the principle. And even if the State does not consider itself bound by the debt contracted by the Constituent Assembly and the First Consul, it cannot absolutely repudiate the responsibility that rests upon it in regard to the clergy who entered the ecclesiastical state on the faith of laws and treaties, and who, under the new law, will see themselves deprived of the very guarantees upon which they had a legal right to count. The Bill does, indeed, provide compensation, but with what parsimony! When the State does away with public service—and in its eyes the priest is a functionary invested to this day with a public duty—it is careful to continue the holder of it in the salary to which he had a right. For the curés the amount will be reduced by half, and will only be paid after twenty-five years of service in a post salaried by the State. The payment will be a sum ranging from 450 to 500 francs. The Archbishop will receive 1,200 francs. His Grace the Archbishop of Algiers was therefore right in declaring: "It is too little if you really owe me anything at all, and too much if you owe me nothing." Help so small as to be insignificant will

be granted to younger priests, but only for a few years. Very few priests will have the necessary period of twenty-five years' service, for no account will be taken in the reckoning provided for by the Bill of the laborious and fruitful years spent as curates in the towns, as chaplains or as professors. Let us hope that the fairness of our legislators will remedy this anomaly. When one studies these provisions at close quarters one cannot but dread that we are face to face with a mystification of which the public was to be the dupe and the clergy the victim.

Such a design would be indeed unworthy of a French statesman, and our hope should be that an exact appreciation of the difficulties, the chief of which I have enumerated, and which the discussion of the Bill will make more and more manifest, may bring Parliament to insist upon longer and deeper study of a reform which nothing calls for, and in regard to which everything gives cause for apprehension.

ARCHBISHOP OF ALBI.

—*London Tablet.*

The Battle of the Schools in Belgium



(1879—1884.)

I.

DURING the last half-century the principal matters of party controversy in Belgium have been furnished by religious questions. War against the Catholic Church, against her control of education and her doctrines, has been the battle-cry of the Liberal Associations since 1846; and although at the present day the struggle of class against class absorbs some of the activity of unbelief, nevertheless ultra-Conservative *doctrinaires* and extreme Socialists share alike the desire to "smother Catholicism in the mud." Never, however, in the contemporaneous history of Belgium has antagonism to the Church inspired an effort at once so malignant and so cleverly planned as that which has made the period between 1879 and 1884 forever memorable, and is now known as the Battle of the Schools (*La Lutte Scolaire*). Those six years of Liberal ascendancy and religious persecution are amongst the most troubled that Belgium has passed through since 1830; they cover the acute phase of the

NOTE.—By favor of the Author, M. Pierre Verhaegen, Provincial Councillor, we are enabled, in this and two following articles, to give excerpts from his forthcoming work, *La lutte scolaire en Belgique* (to be published by A. Siffer, Ghent).

conflict between the Church and its Catholic defenders on the one hand, the Free-thought, upheld by the whole strength of Liberalism, on the other.

It was avowedly a struggle for supremacy in the work of moulding minds. The Church's adversaries, who came into power in 1878, were fully aware that the future would not be for them, and that they certainly would never destroy the influence of Catholicism, unless they obtained the mastery over the minds of the children. With this object in view, they drew up an educational code which would, as they thought, "snatch souls from the Church." Their legislation, in fact, turned the priest out of the primary schools and expunged religion from the programmes of study; it handed over public education, without check or condition, to official caprice and to the influences of Free-thought. The leader of the Right, M. Malou, branded it with a name which has survived him; he called it *La Loi de malheur*: "The Law calamitous."

Hotly opposed by the Catholics, this iniquitous Code was defended by the Liberals with the energy of despair. It was a battle of giants. Never have more supreme efforts been exerted by either of the two armies in hostile contact. Never have the exact bearings of political parties contending for power been exhibited in more definite light.

From the Liberal ranks came an explosion of sectarian fury. In order to extinguish the Faith in the minds of the children of the people, they stretched to their utmost limits the vast combination of resources at the disposal of centralized authority. The State declared its own omnipotence, and trampled under foot every sense of decency, the Constitution itself, and the claims of justice and liberty.

On the Catholic side there was the resistance, step by step, of a united, an entire people, profoundly Christian, and resolved to face the greatest sacrifices to safeguard the Faith of their children; a magnificent effort, such as is possible only to a party which gains strength under persecution, and whose arsenals are stored with those two irresistible weapons, an unshakeable belief in religion and a deep-rooted love of liberty. Religion and Liberty—those two words sum up the whole educational conflict.

The Liberal party, after their victory in 1878, brought the entire weight of their policy to bear on the systematic oppression of liberty. That was the cause of their final downfall. The Catholics met the oppression of their stubborn foes by making liberty the foundation of the marvellous edifice of their resistance to persecution, and the triumph of 1884 justified this energetic assumption of the offensive.

To describe this double aspect of the educational conflict is the task we here undertake. After a rapid survey of the historical preliminaries of the dispute, and of the various school regulations which succeeded each other in Belgium from 1842 to 1879, we shall deal first with the organization of Catholic and free teaching on the morrow of the vote for the *Loi de malheur*, and we shall describe the wonderful results obtained in that domain after a few months of heroic effort; we shall pass in review the glaring results of neutral and official teaching; we shall recall the incredible vexations of the Liberal policy, the memorable resistance of those who were its victims, and the victory at the elections, which put an end to this disastrous condition of affairs and brought "Universal Relief" to the country.

I.

THE PRELIMINARIES OF THE CONFLICT.

Until about the year 1860, the administration of the schools, although a subject of theoretical discussion, remained practically outside the political arena. Immediately after the proclamation of National Independence, the Catholics, who, in concert with the Liberals, had accomplished the Revolution of 1830, applied themselves to the task of reorganizing and developing the work of education, which had been ruined, or brought into discredit by the Dutch Government. In the space of ten years they achieved such remarkable results, particularly in the department of elementary teaching, that the ultimate capture by them of the entire field of primary instruction might be confidently anticipated. They alone had availed themselves of the freedom accorded to education by the Constitution of 1831. (1) By the end of 1840, out of 5,189 primary schools in Belgium, 2,384 were entirely maintained and managed by Catholics, without taking into account the State-aided schools which were placed under their care. This happy result had been reached through the encouragement given by the Bishops, the zeal of the clergy and the generosity of the laity, and it was a proof that religious convictions were firmly rooted in the majority of the Belgian people. Education was rapidly extended and improved without any appreciable co-operation on the part of the State; the interference of the latter was mostly a matter of

(1) Article 17 of the Belgian Constitution directs that Education shall be free: "L'enseignement est libre; toute mesure préventive est interdite; la répression des délits n'est réglée que par la loi. L'instruction publique donnée aux frais de l'Etat est également réglée par la loi."

form, as the constituents of 1831 had wished that it should be. Statesmen of that period agreed in restricting such interference to a *minimum*; they regarded it as an occasional necessity and trusted to the beneficial operation of liberty.

But it was not long before a different interpretation was given of the State legislation concerning education. The Catholics remained convinced that the business of the State in the matter of education was to encourage private initiative and to supplement its inefficiency, for that of itself a Government is incompetent either to educate or to direct the education of the people.

The Liberals, on the other hand, maintained that the Constitution invested the State with the power, and imposed upon it the duty, of teaching the people, of establishing and conducting a system of public education. Some of them even went so far as to affirm that liberty of teaching simply meant that any one had a right to open a school if he chose to do so; but that the Government had an equal right to use the resources at its command to open other schools to compete with them and crush them out of existence. Born enemies of freedom, it pained them to think that if the Catholic movement continued its progressive course, Belgium would soon, through the exercise of the liberty enjoyed under the law, become possessed of a complete educational endowment. They dreaded the prospect of seeing the clergy "monopolize the education of youth." Under the pretext that liberty of teaching had failed to do all that was expected of it, they devised means to stop its progress and set on foot a movement in favor of the direct and systematic intervention of the State in the matter of primary education.

The Catholics could not at this time foresee that the

public schools, supported by the money of the ratepayers, would one day be claimed by the Liberals as being *their* schools. Confiding in the good faith of their opponents, a large number of Catholics abandoned their first position as to the incompetence of the State, and consented that the central authority should intervene with moderation to unite the scattered efforts of the various sections of the people in one common system, in order to stimulate them, and, if necessary, to supplement their inefficiency. The only thing asked for in return was that the education and instruction given in the public schools should be based on religious principles. In 1840 legislation had become inevitable. There was a substantial agreement as to the necessity of some State intervention, but opinions differed as to the *modus operandi* and as to the nature of the guarantees to be given to safeguard religious instruction. The law of 1842 was the result of mutual concessions. It was an agreement which bore an outward appearance of equity. The Catholics accorded a wide measure of intervention to the State; the Liberals resigned themselves to the official intervention of the clergy. The former accepted State teaching, the latter the legality of religious instruction.

By virtue of the law of 1842, the teaching of religion and morality was obligatory in all communal primary schools. This instruction was given by the master himself in every school, in accordance with the religion professed by the majority of the pupils, and without the surveillance and direction of the ministers of that religion. (1)

(1) This clause, which was in accordance with both the spirit and the letter of the Constitution, allowed dissenters to have their own public schools, in any place where they were numerous enough to require such institutions. Ad-

Children not belonging to the same religious communion as the majority of the pupils were dispensed from attending the definite religious instruction given; but this dispensation had by no means the effect of eliminating the religious tone given to the general course of the teaching; this was of obligation. Ministers of religion were authorized to inspect the school at all times; the law entrusted them with the control of the books used in the teaching of religion and morals, and also of the books assigned for the reading lessons.

Each commune was obliged to have at least one school within its boundary; but the necessity of building or maintaining a school could be obviated either by making an agreement with a private school and adopting and subsidizing it, or by proving that the free education actually provided sufficed for the needs of the population. In order to pay for the education of poor children, the charge of which devolved on the commune, the latter might subsidize the private schools attended by these children.

Schoolmasters and mistresses were to be recruited either from the normal schools directly belonging to the State, or from the private normal schools authorized by it. This clause, which corresponded to the adoption of the primary schools, especially concerned the normal establishments founded by the Bishops. The authorized normal schools, as well as the adopted primary schools, were placed under the control of State inspectors; they had a right to a grant from the public treasury. In the

vantage was taken of this permission, and, in several towns, Protestants and Jews opened schools which were paid by the commune and the State. But as the great majority of children were Catholics, the doctrines of the Church were legally taught in nearly all the schools of the country.

normal schools belonging to the State, the religious instruction was entrusted to the chaplains. The Commission which awarded diplomas to the pupil-teachers from the normal schools, either public or authorized, necessarily included several ecclesiastics among its members, and religious subjects figured in the examination papers. The communes exercised a free choice among the candidates from the different schools who had obtained diplomas.

Such, in its essential provisions, was the law arrived at by mutual concessions, which for thirty-seven years was the fundamental charter of public elementary education in Belgium. As may be seen, a wide amount of influence was accorded to each of the contracting parties. The law took account of facts, of pre-existing rights, and of the varied interests which it had to respect. It called on all elements of society to unite in the common work of education, and for each was found an open field to work in and a guarantee of freedom for that work.

It is true, the action of the central power was admitted, but in a less degree than in any other continental nation. The Catholic Church had legal securities for her rights, both in the religious character of the instruction imparted, and in the various means of control placed at her disposal. The clergy were no longer the sole masters in those free schools which profited by the advantages of adoption, but, on the other hand, they acquired legal and positive rights over the official schools.

This law was equitably administered by all the Ministers of the Interior, Liberals as well as Catholics, for a quarter of a century. The new system worked smoothly; disputes were rare; even friction seldom arose; the reason being that the law made but few innovations, and that it especially respected existing institutions.

Loyally carried out, the arrangement adapted itself to the condition of the country and to the wishes, so to speak, of the great majority of the people. The progress of education, therefore, soon became noticeable. In 1845 the number of children of both sexes attending the primary schools—communal, free, and adopted—was 426,385. In 1875 the official number was 652,657, an increase of 226,272. Allowing for the increase of population, school attendance had risen about 31 per cent. in thirty years. And this progress did not slacken. Its consequence was a rapid rise in the level of education all over the country. In 1843 the number of young people who could read and write was 49.15 per cent., or less than half the population; in 1875 it was as high as 76.53 per cent., that is to say, more than three-quarters.

From the bare point of view of the spread of knowledge and the undeniable rise in the average standard, these results will appear splendid; in reality they were deadly and threatening, for by the side of the continued progress of the Government schools, they testified to the decadence of free voluntary teaching.

Trusting to a law which still left some room for religion in the school, Catholics had thrown away their leading position. Their power of initiative was gone, and, as the demand for personal sacrifices grew less in consequence of the facilities and advantages offered by the State, they allowed their own magnificent organization to fall into decay—the organization which had cost them so much to build up in the years preceding 1842. From a total of 2,284 private schools which had been reached in 1840, the number had fallen to 1,430 in 1875, and of these only 958 were free of public control; while during the same period the number of communal schools had

risen from 2,109 to 4,157. Not content with allowing their schools to be submerged by State competition, the Catholics themselves helped on the work of destruction by voting larger and larger sums for the maintenance of the official schools. In 1843 the expenditure on the primary schools was about 2½ million francs; in 1875 it was more than 24 millions; in 1878, the last year of the Conservative Ministry, it had risen to more than 28 millions. Thus the era of school waste was ushered in.

The Liberals, on their side, were not inactive; the law of 1842 afforded them an excellent opportunity of forwarding their projects, and the improvident compliance of the Catholics stimulated their zeal.

The entire history of Belgian Liberalism may be summed up as being a progressive march towards the realization of a principle of odious despotism, of the domination of the State over the Church and over the consciences of men.

In the pursuit of this object the Moderate element of the party at first offers some resistance to the Progressive, but it is incapable of holding out for any long time, since in the main it starts with the same principles, and is impregnated with the germs of the same aspirations; consequently it allows itself to be led and finally to be absorbed by the advanced section. To this predominating influence of Radical views in the Liberal party must be attributed the greater part of the violent measures aimed later on against the religious beliefs and institutions of the nation.

It was after 1842 that symptoms of Liberal reaction began to manifest themselves; they owed formal birth to the Liberal Congress of 1846. Besides the organization of a scheme to confer on the Masonic Lodges a sovereign dictatorship over the Liberal electors and

the entire Liberal party, the Congress occupied itself especially with the law of 1842. By a large majority the law was condemned as being unconstitutional and contrary to liberty of conscience; it was objected to as admitting the principle of a division of authority between the State and the religious associations which ought to have been eliminated, and of perpetuating in fact the domination of the whole field of education by the Church. The Congress agreed on the necessity of revising the law, and of organizing public education under the exclusive direction of the civil power, by giving to the latter constitutional means of competing with private schools, and by doing away with the authorized intervention of ministers of religion in the education organized by the civil power. And this was the result—four years after the vote—of the law of compromise of 1842, of the right of teaching conceded by Catholics to the State!

The Progressive Manifesto was restricted to generalities; the bulk of its supporters failed to perceive that beneath its skilfully worded phrases was concealed that anti-religious spirit with which it was hoped to impregnate by degrees the entire Liberal party.

At the same time Radicalism was in the ascendant. Every year retirement or death took away some of the men who, in concert with the Catholics, had drawn up the Constitution. They were placed in the electoral body, in the administration, and in the Chambers, by a new generation, brought up amidst religious controversy and more and more hostile to the traditional faith of the Belgian people. The great bulk of the Liberal party, while blaming the excesses of speech of the advanced section, glided insensibly down the incline, and the number of Radicals continued to increase.

Radicalism did not fail to take advantage of this increase of influence, and constant pressure was put on the Liberal party in order to obtain the revision of the law of 1842; with the result that in a short time the only Liberal candidates proposed at the elections were chosen from among the opponents of that law.

At the same time Liberal statesmen, in all probability, would have continued to respect the educational settlement of 1842 for a longer period, if it had not been for the able, energetic, and persevering campaign waged against this settlement by the Freemasons. After 1850 the lodges had obtained considerable influence over public opinion of Belgium. They were continually being recruited from the upper and middle classes of Liberals, and, in proportion as the latter allowed themselves to be imbued with anti-religious Radicalism, Freemasonry exercised an increasingly preponderant influence over them. It had early learnt the supreme importance of primary teaching, and hastened to direct all its efforts towards the realization of its views on the subject.

From 1860 the Lodges obtained an ascendancy over the Liberal party, and over the Radical political associations of the whole country. They pressed on them the theory of compulsory, official, gratuitous education, under purely lay management. By degrees they succeeded in making this the program of leaders of parties, and drafted the law of 1879, which, however, was, in their eyes, only a first step towards a still more Radical educational legislation.

It is in 1850 that the first trace of official and united action on the part of Freemasonry in the matter of education can be perceived. In that year the Grand-Orient of Belgium placed the question of compulsory education on the program of all the lodges under its

obedience. The majority of them, in compliance with its request, sent up memorials which were published at Brussels in 1863. These memorials are more or less advanced, more or less Radical, in respect of the methods which they advocate, but they are in perfect agreement as to the end to be attained, and as to the general plan to be pursued.

The first item on the program is the secularization of teaching. Thus the Lodge of Liège said definitely:

We exclude from primary instruction all religious teaching; we regard it as an attack on liberty of conscience.

The Lodge of Antwerp declared that:

The intervention of the priest in the school, as an authority, forcibly annihilates the teacher, paralyzes him and deprives the children of all moral, logical and national teaching. The teaching of catechism is the greatest obstacle to the development of the child's faculties. The human mind, free from that pile of stuff which warps it, will become more just, right, and moral. That is the first thing a legislator should aim at.

The Lodge of Brussels spoke confidently of the coming event. Its words were:

We hope the day is not far off when the Belgian Parliament will, in its turn, proclaim loudly the principle of the lay school, viz.: lay teaching of morality. Then will the country have scored one of the most precious victories of modern civilization, and Freemasonry can claim the glory of having caused to be inscribed on our legislation the practical application of an idea for which we have labored for centuries.

But was the education to be given in these laicised schools to consist merely of elementary and purely tech-

nical instruction, and not to include moral and civic training? "Not so," the Antwerp Lodge goes on to say. "Religious and moral instruction will be replaced in *our* schools by the teaching of social morality, and of the spirit of our Constitution." "The schoolmaster will have to confine himself," affirmed the Liège Lodge, "to the inculcation of the *general principles of morality*." Here we have traced in advance the system adopted by the law of 1879, and a precise definition of the neutral or universal code of morals which a few years later would be upheld by the Liberal Government.

Certain Lodges, that of Namur amongst others, contented themselves with merely filling their memorials with savage diatribes against the clergy and religion. For the Namur Lodge, "the essential feature of compulsory education is that it should take no notice of religion, *nor perhaps even of morals*."

All the memorials, however, were in favor of legal compulsion, based on a system of penalties. Their ideas on this subject were set forth in a scheme for a code of twenty-three articles, and summed up in the five following propositions:

1. Duty of a father or widowed mother to compel attendance at school.
2. Suppression of all religious instruction.
3. Posting of delinquent parents on a public board on the communal house.
4. Condemnation of parents to maximum penalty of 100 francs; or in default of that to hard labor for thirty days for the commune, or imprisonment of from one to five days.
5. As a last resource, withdrawal of the child from parental control.

Under the strict discipline of the Lodges, the Progressive party carried on an active propaganda in favor of these ideas, which were also disseminated by the greater part of the Liberal press. The *bourgeoisie* and electorate of the principal towns assimilated them by degrees, and laid the obligation of upholding them on their representatives in the Elective Assemblies. The most authoritative exponents of Liberalism, MM. de Laveleye and Laurent, echoed them in their lectures at the University and in their publications. The Rationalist University of Brussels spread the doctrines among the young men who frequented it, and the most of the Liberal Associations of the country were gradually imbued with them.

This propaganda found a congenial soil in the majority of the great centres, at Brussels and in the faubourgs, at Ghent, Antwerp, Liège, and in many of the second-class towns. The communal administration in these towns had passed from the hands of Catholics, or of moderate Liberals, to those of the most extreme Radicals; the Lodges exercised a predominant influence over the public schools, and, especially from the year 1865, the law of 1842 had practically become a dead letter. The choice of professors was made in a spirit directly hostile to the Church; masters were tolerated at the head of the schools who professed perfect indifference towards the religion they were appointed to teach. Some even who had been divorced and had contracted civil marriages were retained in their office, notwithstanding the scandal given by their lives; those masters who ventured to show themselves to be Catholics were exposed to endless annoyances. The guarantees provided by the laws proved fallacious. At Brussels the crucifixes disappeared from many schools at the de-

mand of a handful of free-thinking parents; in others, prayers were discontinued at the opening and closing of the school, religious instruction ceased to be given in some instances, and was replaced by gymnastic exercises. In the communal schools at Antwerp, pupils who had made their First Communion were dispensed from attending the religious instruction, and religious and moral teaching came there to be regarded, generally, as optional; books calculated to excite hatred of religion were even given to the children as prizes. At Ghent the schools fell under the dominion of the publicist professor, Laurent, who turned them into a perfect hot-bed of anti-Christian teaching. Many of the communal schoolmistresses had remained openly Catholic. M. Laurent exercised constant pressure on these mistresses, recommending them to discontinue their religious practices, or, again, endeavoring to overthrow their faith in Christianity, or lastly compelling them to canvass for the votes of their relations at the coming elections. If to this picture we add that the Liberal administration systematically refused grants to the adopted schools, and continually opened new official schools in opposition to the free schools, the opinion expressed by the Liberal *Précurseur*, respecting the educational situation in the great centres, is not surprising:—"In these towns the revision of the law of 1842 will but slightly change the existing state of affairs."

These modifications in the application of the law, silently and noiselessly effected, did not satisfy the advanced party; they aimed at complete revision. Defeated in the elections of 1870, the Liberals were made to understand that they would lose all influence in the future, unless they were prepared to join the advanced party in the paths of Radicalism. The revision of the

law of 1842 was soon part of the program of all the Liberal leaders, including M. Frère-Orban. "Let there be no misapprehension," wrote the *Flandre Libérale* in recording this agreement of the Left, "party strife now turns directly on the education question; and once started on that road, it will be impossible to stop short at the teaching and intervention of the priest in the schools."

As may clearly be seen, this was the systematic persecution of the Catholic Church which had been already decreed in the Masonic meetings, and announced in their most influential and important organ. That the return of Liberalism to power was to usher in a completely anti-religious policy could be doubtful to no one.

"War is declared," writes again the *Flandre Libérale*:

"There is civil war, and it will last till your Church or the State gives way. But we have faith in our cause. The future is ours, and your Church, which cannot bend, will be broken."

Then, asking who will prevail in the conflict, it replies:

"It is the State. The State then is above the Church, and has a right only to what the State wants to grant."

But of all the Liberal spokesmen of that epoch, M. Laurent was the most fanatically sectarian, and the most passionately hostile to the Church, to its dogmas, and to its Hierarchy.

He was adverse to the liberty of the religious congregations.

"The monks are the enemy," he wrote, in the *Revue de Belgique*:

"The monks are the foe. In face of the foe we shoot. The State can go as far as to permit the existence of religious congregations only in virtue of a previous authorization. It is revolutionary, but it has to be done

in face of an enemy. Liberty even restricted gives the enemy weapons, and in my opinion he should have none."

He attacked freedom of education with equal vigor:

"When we declare instruction obligatory shall we permit their children to go to the Brothers and Sisters? That would be a fictitious obligatory instruction. Instruction must be obligatory and must be given exclusively in lay schools and by sweeping the priest aside."

By this system the rights of fathers of families are trodden under foot, but M. Laurent makes short work of these:

"They speak of parental rights; that is the language of barbarous States."

Some Liberals, it is true, timidly protested that Liberalism is not a religious doctrine. The *Flandre* logically makes answer:

"Whatever you write or say, every Liberal will fight Catholicity in every fashion. They openly reject its dogmas, criticise its morality, mock at its miracles, despise its ceremonies. All their efforts have one object: to destroy the influence of the Church on souls."

And it then uttered the war-cry which the *Indépendance* reproduced and made its own: "OUR ONLY ENEMY—we do wrong to forget it sometimes—IS THE CHURCH"—*L'Eglise, on a le tort l'oublier quelquefois, voilà notre seule ennemie.*

This violent excitement produced its effect. From 1876 it became evident that the Liberal triumph would be the death-warrant of the law of 1842. The elections of 1878 gave the victorious Liberals the power to carry out the primary article of their program by imposing on the nation the *Loi de malheur*, which was elaborated in all its details by the Freemasons.

Before the elections of 1870, the Liberals had been

imprudent enough to allow their educational schemes to be clearly seen. They were defeated, but the lesson was of service to them. Better advised in 1878, they kept the revision of the law of 1842 as far as possible in the background, and their astuteness in this respect was the principal cause of their victory. They secured the votes of those wavering electors who still believed in moderate Liberalism. On the other hand, the Liberal party made capital out of the extreme toleration and lack of energy which had characterized their opponents during the eight years of the Malou Ministry (1870-1878); it denounced those Catholics who were faithful to the teaching of the Holy See as being the worst enemies of the Belgian Constitution. The Liberals, in short, raised the cry of the "Clerical peril." The elections of the 10th June, 1878, were made under the influence of this current of opinion; the Catholics were overthrown, together with the Ministry of M. Malou, and the Liberals obtained a majority of ten votes in the Chamber, and six in the Senate.

Five days later the new Cabinet was formed under the presidency of M. Frère-Orban. Its members being all Freemasons, a seventh department, that of Public Education, was created by royal decree, and confided to M. van Humbeeck, whose Radical views were well known. The creation of this new Minister, at the suggestion of M. Laurent, was considered by every one as the first act of an aggressive policy, and as the precursory intimation of the revision of the law of 1842. "He will be," said the officious *Echo du Parlement*, "*the Minister of the liberal religion.*"

A sentence in the speech from the throne, at the opening of the parliamentary session of 1878-79, defined the fundamental idea of the educational policy of the

Government. "*Public education*," it said, "*must depend exclusively on the civil authority.*" This sentence was full of significance; it almost verbally reproduced one of the resolutions of the Masonic Congress of 1846. It was a declaration of war against Catholicity; from this moment hostilities might be considered as being officially commenced.

Burning controversial differences arose between the Catholics and the Liberals, and the introduction of the Education Bill on the 21st of January, 1879, added fuel to the flame.

Under the modest title of *revision of the law of 1842*, the bill proposed the almost total destruction of the educational legislation then in force; the essential features of this legislation—guarantees afforded for religious teaching, respect for the independence of the commune, protection assured to the free schools—all disappeared; and their place was taken by the secularization of instruction, the supreme jurisdiction of the central authority, and (indirectly) by the establishment of a State monopoly of primary education. Most of these provisions were taken from the Masonic program.

The new law was, first, an attempt against religious freedom. It laid down the principle of neutrality in official education. The argument urged in favor of the law asserted that because the State is separated from the Churches, it should not interest itself in anything concerning religion. Only on this condition could constitutional neutrality become a practical reality. Instead, then, of continuing, as in the past, to accord equal favor to each of the different religious communions, "the State, by reason of its incompetence, should hold aloof from the religious instruction," and the latter "cannot figure on the program of the public schools."

Such was the principle embodied in Article 4, which "leaves religion to be taught by families and ministers of the various communions," and in Article 5, which substitutes for it the teaching of morality by the schoolmaster, under the sole direction and surveillance of the State functionaries. This morality, according to the *Exposé des motifs*, was to be *Universal Morality*; the master would be bound to inculcate on his pupils its general principles, and to leaven with it the whole of his teaching; all dogmatic elements derived from Catholicism or any other form of worship should be rigorously excluded; further, each commune should contain at least one school managed on these principles.

The second paragraph of Article 4 contains a hypocritical reservation, intended to deceive Christian families: "A place in the school," it said, "is placed at the disposal of ministers of religion, in order that they may give religious instruction either before or after school hours to the children of their communion attending the school." In case the priest declined to give this, the schoolmaster was authorized to teach the letter of the Diocesan Catechism only, without explanation or commentary. The first result of the law was thus a characteristic encroachment on the domain of ecclesiastical authority.

All religious instruction was banished from official normal schools; "neutrality" took a more definite form in them than in the primary schools, where the clause relating to the teaching of the catechism had been conceded to the parents. It was in fact needful to combat all faith and practice of religion in the schoolmasters of the future, in order to be able in a few years' time to place masters educated without any religious influences at the head of all the primary schools. A member of the

majority, M. Jottrand, declared that he should vote for that article as "a warlike measure necessitated by the dangers of the situation." This expression characterized the entire law.

By a not less grave innovation the authorization of private normal schools was abolished; in future only the State schools would be entitled to present candidates for diplomas, and the communal councils could only make choice of masters from amongst those furnished by these schools.

On the other hand, ecclesiastical inspectors were done away with, and the clergy lost all control over the teaching, the normal examination, and the class books. The Curé of the parish no longer had the right of visiting the school. He could only go to the place set apart for religious instruction, and even there, only at the hours previously fixed by the administration.

Private schools were deprived of their right to a grant, and the commune could no longer "adopt" them. This clause was ruinous to many of the communes, besides violating their religious liberty. A whole series of measures was also directed against the autonomy of the communes in the matter of education, and the substitution of the exclusive authority of the State.

The number of schools to be maintained by each commune, as well as the number of classes and teachers in each school, was arbitrarily decided by the Government; whether these schools were well attended or not; whether the communes were in favor of them or not.

The communes were compelled to send the poor children who were entitled to gratuitous teaching to the official schools. They were deprived of the greater part of their authority over the teachers, and over the internal economy of the schools. Under pretext of inspection a system of minute State surveillance was organized.

This want of confidence in the communes was also shown by the formation of *Educational Committees*. This new machinery, which now for the first time made its appearance in Belgium, was at first sight somewhat analogous to the English School Boards; but this resemblance, which was much insisted on by the Liberals, was only superficial, and concealed a very different spirit. The duty of encouraging and developing public education in all its departments was imposed on the members of these committees (Art. 17). The boundaries of their several districts were determined by the Minister. They could include one, or several communes; in the first case, the members of the committee were chosen by the Communal Council; in the second, they were nominated by the Minister. This ingenious contrivance had for its effect, that the Liberal communes were left free to elect their delegates, while the Catholic ones were subjected to the surveillance of the Freemasons and Radicals whom it might please the Government to inflict on them.

The members of these committees were charged with the duty of superintending the official primary schools, conjointly with the communal administration. They were also to be the faithful agents of the central Government, and their duties included those of spying upon any Catholic administration that might attempt to kick over the traces, of keeping a watch on fathers of families, and of drawing up lists of "suspects," who were thereafter to have no share in the *favours* or even in the justice of the Government.

The committees (says Article 21 in effect) use every means of persuasion calculated to induce parents to send their children to school (official). They claim the assistance of employers of labor and others to aid them in their mission. Means of encouragement can

be placed at the disposal of the committees by the communes, in order to make these schools popular.

These were some of the various forms of pressure used in pursuance of the school policy at the time inscribed on the program of the Government.

The only privilege left to the communes was that of paying.

"The State shall decree, and the commune shall pay," exclaimed M. Woste, one of the leaders of the Opposition, in the Chambers, thus summing up in a happily worded formula the whole system of the law. Communal autonomy was crushed beneath a series of vexatious regulations.

Antagonistic as it was to religious and civil liberty, the scheme was also, as we have seen, totally opposed to all freedom of teaching. By the suppression of authorization and adoption it tended to establish virtually a State monopoly of education, while by the privileges accorded to the State schools, and the formation of the educational committees, it practically made Liberalism compulsory for the poor. Indigent parents were thenceforth morally compelled to send their children to atheistic schools.

To wrest souls from the Church, and particularly the souls of those who had no means of defending themselves—such was in effect the true object of the proposed law, its essential provisions being contained in Articles 4 and 5, which substituted in the official teaching the colorless morality defined by the State, for the instruction in Catholic dogma and morals given by the Church. All the other clauses were only the complement and necessary consequences of these two articles; some of them constituted a delusive reservation, calculated to mislead parents as to the real tendency of the new legislation;

others provided the Liberals and those in power with the necessary means of overcoming the resistance which they foresaw would be made.

It was an adroit manœuvre on the part of the Government to reserve to the priests a fixed place and time in the school. Without really making any substantial concession, it had the effect of keeping up appearances; it changed the character of the wares sold, but kept up the original signboard. To moderate Liberals and Christian parents alarmed for the religious education of their children, the Government could say—pointing to the place reserved for the priest, and flourishing Article 4: "Do not listen to clerical misrepresentations. It is true, the priest is no longer predominant in the national schools; but religion has not ceased to be respected and taught in them. Nothing essential is really altered, your children's faith is in no danger." To Free-thinkers who demanded teaching hostile to the Church it could always reply: "Fear nothing, the religious instruction will be merely an 'extra,' neutralized by the influence of professors taken from my normal schools, and by the general character of the teaching."

There was thus enough to satisfy everyone: the Moderates might be reassured, the Progressives convinced that Article 4 was only a delusion. It was evident that the priest would not present himself at the schools, in which he would be admitted as a sort of subordinate assistant teacher, just tolerated for a few minutes every day in a place apart. His teaching would be under State surveillance and counteracted by that of the schoolmaster, who would eradicate from the minds of the children any germs of faith which the priest might sow; on the other hand, all control over the teaching of morals being taken from him, his intervention in public education became

useless and undignified. Everything tended to keep him away. The Liberals who did not fear to express their thoughts acknowledged this themselves. "It is clear," wrote the *Flandre Libérale*, "that you only invite the clergy in order that they may refuse, and you endeavor to make their refusal inevitable;" and the *Chronique*, which sometimes at that period distinguished itself from the rest of the Liberal press by gleams of political honesty, had this biting word for the Ministry: "Your scheme is only an artifice, unworthy of a Government that respects itself!" (1)

These compromising avowals did not affect politicians who were resolved on going "on to the end"—according to the expression of one of their leaders, the Minister Bara—in the war against the religion and liberty of their opponents. Neither did the Government allow itself to be deterred by the indignant protestations of the Catholics who had manifested their formal opposition to the proposed law all over the country.

Between January and May, 1879, 317,000 fathers of families presented petitions against the scheme to the Legislative Chambers; the principal speakers of the Parliamentary Right everywhere organized meetings, in order to make known to the people the liberticide tendency of the new educational law; their success was immense, and it showed the Government that the law was morally lost, even before it had been put to the vote. It made no difference. The general debate on the law of revision, begun in the Chamber of Representatives on the 22nd of April, ended on the 6th of June without any

(1) Even the foreign press stigmatized the hypocrisy of the proposed law. The *Times* characterized it in these terms: "Although disguised under specious terms, the Bill is completely irreligious." (May, 1879.)

modifications being introduced except to accentuate its worst features.

The measure was passed in the Chamber by 67 votes against 60 and one abstention; in the Senate it had a majority of only one vote, that of a dying man, who had owed his power to vote to the suffrage of a single elector. The King affixed his signature to the law on the 1st of July, and on the 10th it appeared in the *Moniteur*.

On that day all the Catholic newspapers appeared with black borders; they announced to the nation that the *Loi de malheur* was sanctioned, and that lawful resistance to it would begin.

PIERRE VERHAEGEN.

The Month, March, 1905.



The Battle of the Schools in Belgium



(1879—1884.)

II.

THE ORGANIZATION OF FREE CATHOLIC EDUCATION.

The time had now arrived for action. The opposition hitherto offered to the *Loi de malheur* had been to a great extent political. Deeds must now take the place of words, and instead of petitions, manifestos and the like, definite steps must be taken to counteract State education.

It is to their lasting honor that, at this critical juncture, Belgian Catholics accurately gauged the extent of their obligations, and faced them without flinching.

It was not enough simply to persevere in protesting against godless teaching. Doubtless it might be thought that resistance, if it should become general throughout the country, would compel the Government to tolerate, to a certain extent and for a certain time, the continuation of the old programmes of teaching, and even of the denominational character of the primary schools.

But the probability of these conciliatory measures, far from being favorable to Catholics, was precisely the rock on which, unless great care were exercised, their cause would be shipwrecked. It was to be feared that, at the price of a few temporary concessions, Liberalism would

gradually disarm suspicion and insensibly familiarize the people with the new schools.

After all it is by the opposition of school to school and of teaching to teaching that an existing system of education is to be combated. The only actual means of counter-acting the influence of the State schools was to open free Catholic schools in every commune to compete with them. In opposition to the teachers from the normal schools, the budget and educational system of the State, it was necessary to provide teachers devoted to the Church, religious normal schools, a fund supported by the *voluntary* gifts of the faithful, and an organization depending entirely on Christian families and on the clergy.

But how great was the difficulty to be overcome! The public schools which owed their existence to the enterprise of the people in every part of the country, and in great measure to Catholic initiative, were now at the service of the Government. To complete the organization of its schools all over the country, the State was prepared to draw freely both on the public revenue and on the funds of the communes. Besides, it was less than three months to the end of the holidays—it was July, 1879—yet, by the re-opening of schools in October, all must be ready to begin the struggle against an adversary so powerful, so wealthy, so well-armed. Three months in which to collect millions of francs and thousands of teachers, to plant new schools all over Belgium, and to thoroughly organize a scheme of education of which only the framework and rudiments then existed!

The Belgian Catholics did not recoil from this enterprise. They believed that when the Faith is in peril, Christians ought not to shrink from any sacrifice, or any trial, necessary to safeguard it. They resolved therefore to protect the religious instruction of the people from

further attacks by creating, under the *ægis* of the common law, a system of education which would afford them complete security, and which would depend on them alone. This was the plan of action, resolved on immediately after the vote of the *Loi de malheur*, and continued to the end of that struggle, the stirring events of which we are now about to relate.

The Liberals had attacked the Church by their education law; the heads of the Church undertook the task of directing resistance to that law, and of organizing a scheme of Catholic education. It was at once their right and their duty, and the Bishops were not found wanting.

On two occasions already—in December 1878, and February 1879—they had energetically protested against the educational scheme of the government in letters which they addressed collectively to the faithful of their dioceses. On June the 12th, 1879, that is, on the evening of the very day on which the Education Bill was carried in the Senate, they issued another pastoral letter which reiterated in still more forcible and precise terms the condemnation already formulated against the atheistic schools.

"No one," said the Bishops, "can conscientiously attend these schools; consequently no parents can conscientiously send their children to a public school under the control of the law, if there is a Catholic school in the locality, or if they can in any other way provide for their education . . . Since heads of families cannot conscientiously send their children to such schools, it is not permissible to any Catholic voluntarily to contribute towards the maintenance, or to aid in any way in the execution of the law. Consequently Catholics are not allowed to accept educational posts under Government."

Finally, on September 1st the Bishops addressed to their clergy under the title of *Practical Instructions for the Use of Confessors*, a statement which summed up all their previous letters, and was accepted as a formal interdict pronounced against the teaching of the State. (1)

Priests, said the *Instructions* in substance, shall not give religious teaching in the places set apart for them in the schools. They shall avail themselves of the pulpit, of pastoral visits, and of private intercourse in order to dissuade the faithful from any participation in "neutral" (undenominational) instruction. Under pain of a grievous neglect of duty each *curé* shall make every effort to obtain a Catholic school in his parish.

Parents were forbidden to send their children to the public schools; teachers and inspectors, under pain of grievous sin and refusal of absolution, must no longer accept employment in them.

Certain cases which allowed of dispensation were, however, foreseen: thus the schoolmaster who was on the point of obtaining his pension, or one who was obliged to teach a little longer in order to escape military service, could be authorized by the parish priest to remain for a short time at his post, but he was obliged to pledge himself to follow implicitly the course of instruction prescribed by the ecclesiastical authorities and to absolutely obtain a Catholic school in his parish.

This last point admitted of no dispensation, neither did the cases of official inspectors, or of attendance at public schools.

This pronouncement of the Bishops made a profound impression on the whole nation; their *Instructions* were

(1) These *Instructions*, which were at first intended to be kept private, were communicated to the Catholic Press at the end of September, 1879.

carried out to the letter in every diocese, and obtained an immense publicity; they were propagated from all the pulpits and by the entire Catholic press. Several hundred thousand copies were printed and distributed; every family was thus provided with an easy means of becoming acquainted with the obligations they imposed.

The clergy, in obedience to the mandate of their Bishops, unanimously declined the invitation given them to impart religious instruction in the public schools. Deans and *curés* alike, in conveying their refusals to the communal administrations, fully explained their reasons, and generally added a formal protest against religious instruction being given by the schoolmaster, or any other person, unless they were delegated by the clergy. By the end of September all the Belgian priests had made their profession of faith on the subject of the new scholastic *régime*, and it was known to the Government that not only would the clergy refuse to co-operate with the State schools, but that they would unceasingly oppose them.

The laity, for their part, had applied themselves to the work of organizing instruction, obtaining teachers, and guaranteeing the needful funds.

On the day following the promulgation of the Education Law, a scheme for Catholic instruction was already drafted. Committees of resistance had been formed in most places during the winter of 1879; they rose to the occasion and from the end of July, without waiting for the word of command, these Committees had, for the most part, set to work to collect funds and prepare for the establishment of the new schools. The Bishops then intervened, each in his own diocese, in order to introduce more method and system into the movement,

to link together the autonomous local associations, and to form new ones in places where they were still lacking.

Three kinds of Education Committees were set on foot all over the country, those of the parish, the deanery, and the province. These committees, together with the diocesan and cantonal inspectors chosen by the Bishops, became the ruling authorities of Catholic education.

At the base of this organization stood the parochial councils, and it was by their labors that the arduous work of forming and maintaining the new schools was almost exclusively accomplished. They were composed of the parish priest and of such laymen as had already distinguished themselves by their zeal in furthering Catholic interests. The functions of these committees were varied and numerous, and included urging on parents the duty of sending their children to Catholic schools, for this purpose visiting them frequently in their homes, as well as giving them private exhortations on the subject. The members of these committees distributed tracts and newspapers favorable to religious education; they built schools, regulated their management, and procured funds for their maintenance. The teachers were also paid and superintended by them. Such, until 1884, was the task of the parochial committees, who also had the appointment of the schoolmaster, unless the school owed its existence to the generosity of a founder who reserved this right to himself. The committees of the deanery ranked immediately above those of the parish. Recruited by the dean from the members of the different parochial committees, they exercised, generally speaking, no financial functions, but applied themselves principally to giving their counsel on matters connected with the good govern-

ance and regulation of the schools within their jurisdiction. They also served as intermediaries between the parochial and provincial committees.

These latter usually consisted of from twenty to thirty members, some of whom were ecclesiastics, but the greater number were laymen. Elected in the various districts, they assembled at stated times in the chief town of each province. Politicians, lawyers, journalists, landed proprietors and influential manufacturers sat side by side with representatives of the educational body. Each of these assemblies had its executive committee, which frequently met at the chief town for the transaction of current business. Besides watching generally over the interests of primary education, the duties of these provincial committees included correspondence with the parochial committees, the formation of a central treasury, the funds from which were distributed amongst the most indigent schools; and lastly, they had the care of the diocesan normal schools.

Such was this flexible, yet at the same time powerful, organization, which combined united action with independence; the initiative of the clergy, with that of the representatives of families; the active work of the parish with the guiding influence of the episcopate. All classes of society were represented in it, and called on to exercise the functions for which they were most adapted. The aristocracy, liberal professions, and upper middle class predominated in the provincial committees; the parish committees were composed mostly of small tradesmen and artisans; and this diversity of elements, far from weakening their union, on the contrary, contributed to the success of their common efforts.

While the organization of free education was thus shaping itself, the interdict placed by the bishops on the State

teaching was bearing fruit. From the end of August, schoolmasters and mistresses, inspectors and functionaries of all kinds began to tender their resignations, and this continued uninterruptedly during the vacation and the first months of the scholastic year.

Some resigned even before the publication of the *Practical Instructions*; others waited until the time of reopening the schools drew near; others again, having resumed their official functions by virtue of dispensations lawfully obtained, left them by degrees, as soon as they could secure appointments in the private schools. In many places the communal schoolmaster, by agreement with the priest and the inhabitants, remained at his post while the Catholic school was being hastily erected, and when this was completed master and scholars transferred themselves there *en masse*, leaving the State school empty. Lastly there were a few members of the educational staff, who, after at first remaining in the employ of the State from ignorance or weakness, abandoned it later on, either in obedience to the voice of their conscience, or from disgust at the tyranny which they saw exercised around them, and of which they were the first victims.

The ranks of those engaged in the higher branches of public education, as inspectors, professors in normal schools and directors of large schools, were, in particular, thinned by these resignations.

In the course of a few weeks the Liberals lost those who were the most distinguished for their professional capacity, their experience and moral worth, and this loss was the more serious, inasmuch as these men brought their valuable knowledge and experience to aid in establishing the higher grades of free education. Their example was followed by all the nuns who taught in

the public schools, and by the principal part of the lay schoolmistresses and a good number of masters.

Heroic acts of self-denial were witnessed in the educational staff. Young men whose age rendered them liable for military service, refused to profit by the dispensations which the Bishops had formally granted, and shouldered their rifles rather than remain engaged in irreligious teaching. Others who had nearly reached the age which entitled them to a pension, left the State schools and cheerfully gave up the provision for their old age. A great number gave up assured and relatively brilliant positions, in order to enter the free schools, with much lower salaries and prospects. A master would sacrifice without hesitation half his annual stipend; a mistress would devote herself to the education of the little girls of her village for a sum barely sufficient for her maintenance. The instance is cited of a place in Hainaut where the Catholic population was so poor that they did not know how to pay a schoolmaster. The communal master, an excellent Christian, burdened with a family, went to the *curé* and offered his services. The priest was embarrassed how to touch on the delicate subject of remuneration, when the brave man added: "If you can only guarantee a sufficiency of corn and potatoes for my children, I ask no more." This act of devotion, as may be easily imagined, was joyfully accepted by the inhabitants and shortly afterwards the Catholic school was opened, to the universal satisfaction.

At Ghent twenty-six communal schoolmistresses resigned their official appointments, one of them, Mlle. Mathilde de Rop, giving the following example of heroic self-sacrifice.

She fell ill during the month of August, 1879, and it was evident that she would be unable to resume her

duties by the beginning of the next school term; as an official schoolmistress she was entitled to receive her salary notwithstanding, and she was in no way obliged to resign a post which was moreover her sole source of livelihood. She was not deterred by these considerations, and when advised to apply to the clergy for the requisite dispensation, which she would certainly have obtained, this noble woman replied, "I will not continue for an instant to be connected with a system of education which will result in destroying the children's faith," and immediately sent in her resignation to the municipal offices. Before the end of the vacations Mlle. de Rop had succumbed to her malady; her sacrifice was without effect, but how worthy was it of admiration!

The same spirit of devotion showed itself in different ways in many other places. Every day schoolmasters were found who spontaneously sacrificed their prospects, and who, for the most part, went to increase the number of free educationists. When the Catholic Committees made a general census of results gained at the end of 1880, it was found that 1,750 schoolmasters and mistresses out of about 7,500 had tendered their resignations. Their example was followed by some hundreds of others, during the following years, and in 1884 the total number of resignations rose to 2,253, of which 1,200 were those of masters and 1,053 of mistresses. The heads of the "adopted" schools, whether Religious or laymen, had almost unanimously severed their official connection, and had themselves registered as engaged in the work of free education.

The Ministry was greatly annoyed at seeing these resignations on the increase, and endeavored to put a stop to them. It attempted to take action against those cer-

tificated teachers who had formerly profited by the educational funds of the State, and who now refused to fulfil engagements contracted with the State under other legislation and entirely different conditions. Masters who resigned after attaining the age at which they were entitled to a pension for which they had worked all their life, were refused this pension. A ministerial circular of March 27th, 1880, decided that

"If a master has even fulfilled the conditions legally required it does not follow that he has a positive right to a pension, especially when he accepts a post in private education and uses his influence to disorganize State teaching."

The Liberal burgomasters, rivalling the central administration in zeal, annoyed in all sorts of ways those schoolmasters who left the communal schools: sometimes they made unjust stoppages of salary due to the teachers; in other cases they refused to accept resignations and caused them to be revoked.

But these harsh measures had hardly any other effect than that of still further exasperating tempers and embittering strife; they ended in discrediting official education, and in no way hindered the marvellous development of free instruction.

The latter was rapidly organized by the combined efforts of the episcopate, prominent laymen, and men of action.

There was no difficulty in filling up the ranks of the upper grades of the scholastic profession from the heads of the free schools, and also from the former officials of the public schools, who had resigned, and from the lay directors or professors in private colleges, who were consequently familiar with educational questions. This branch of the educational staff soon left nothing to be

desired. There was not much difficulty, either, in providing mistresses for the girls' schools. Boys' schools suffered much more from the dearth of masters, and even after several months' labor the vacancies were not all filled up. The Congregations of men which could have supplied masters were not nearly so well developed as the religious Orders of women, the Belgian Bishops having found it preferable to confide the direction of their primary schools, as far as possible, to laymen. This circumstance deprived free education of a valuable source from whence to obtain teachers, and yet it was necessary, in order to fight successfully against State education, to provide one or more competent masters for each of the new schools all over the country.

This gave occasion for further exhibitions of devotion and self-sacrifice. In many places, especially during the first few months, the *curé*, or the *vicaire*, supplied the lack of regular teachers, by undertaking the management of the boys' schools; some priests, absolutely without any help, even undertook the charge of the school during the whole of the five years of the Liberal power. Priests advanced in years did not hesitate to undertake single-handed this overwhelming task, and many of them ruined their health in so doing. In other places, the sacristan, choirmen, and others employed in the church, became the schoolmasters, and for the most part without recompense. Old preceptors who had left the service offered themselves; Seminarists interrupted their studies in order to fill up the vacant posts. The pupils in the diocesan training colleges on their part worked with greater zeal in order to get their certificate before the usual period had elapsed. Young men, who taught in night schools and Sunday schools, undertook to give primary instruction daily. The regular masters, redoub-

ling their efforts, took as many scholars as possible under their tuition; the nuns opened mixed schools for the younger children, and also infant schools.

At the same time that they were providing for the primary schools, the Catholic Education Committees were occupied in securing the proper carrying on of the old training schools and in forming new ones. Owing to the sympathy with which the people regarded the movement, and to the Christian spirit of the rural classes which furnished the greater number of recruits to the educational staff, these establishments speedily received as many pupils as they could possibly accommodate. The last vacancies which existed in the Catholic schools were thus enabled to be filled up, and by the end of 1881 the organization of free education was complete.

It was in pecuniary matters that the Catholics were at most disadvantage. Their rivals needed to make no sacrifices; the passing of a vote sufficed to place both the State Budget and the communal funds at their disposal. The Catholics, on the contrary, were under the necessity of raising an enormous sum immediately; they had to build, furnish, and maintain hundreds of schools, to pay a numerous staff of teachers, to give gratuitous instruction to poor children, and in order to meet these multifarious claims there was only public charity to depend on. They were not daunted, but resolutely set to work to beg.

The fundamental rule laid down by the clergy and the education committees for the collection and use of money, was the *localization of receipts and expenditure*. The parish, the first unit of the Catholic system, was chosen as the centre round which the activity and devotion of Catholics naturally and instinctively concentrated themselves.

Each locality must provide alone, for all, or nearly all, the expenses of its own school, each committee took steps to fill the treasury by means of voluntary gifts, and itself regulated the expenditure according to the needs of the parish and the amount of money collected.

It was proved by experience that this was the best plan and constituted the only means of obtaining large and repeated donations, and of exercising economy in the use of the sums received; it was to the general adoption of this method that the organizers of Catholic teaching owed the success of their work.

The energetic and continued action taken by the education committees was aided in a remarkable way by private efforts. It will never be known what was accomplished by heroic deeds done in the course of these years. It would be necessary to recount in detail the history of each new school, and to record an infinite number of little facts which, taken separately, may seem insignificant, but each of which represents a hard sacrifice, and which constitute in their entirety a nation's act of faith.

The rich contributed large sums and assisted in meeting the expenses of the free education in their districts by gifts of all sorts, in money, or in building and equipping the schools and providing teachers. Members of the aristocracy, large landed proprietors, and the upper middle classes, everywhere undertook the construction and maintenance of one or more schools at their expense. The Arenberg family alone built more than one hundred; the Mérodes, Robianos, and the Caraman Chimaïs also figure largely in this list of benefactors. Their example was imitated in numbers of places; the *châtelains* in the villages deemed it an honor to defray the expenses of the free school.

People with medium or small incomes were asked to give an immediate donation and an annual subscription, and the members of the parochial committees appointed regular collectors to receive the offerings of each family. One priest in Brussels, an indefatigable beggar, himself collected more than 600,000 francs. These house-to-house visitations were supplemented by frequent collections in the churches. Alms flowed in from all sides. Domestic servants brought half their wages, others some hundreds or thousands of francs, the savings of a lifetime, and all they had to keep them in their old age; the poorest gave their pence. A poor peasant woman in the province of Namur offered the priest a lot of ground, left to her by her parents, to build a school on, and added 120 francs, which she had saved. "The good God," she said, "will do the rest." The pupils at the College of Malonne gave up their prizes, and the money they would have cost was given to the Catholic Education fund. This example was followed in more than thirty colleges. In the arid districts of the Campine poor peasants gave the tenth of their small earnings to the parish school, and in other places the villagers agreed to let out the shooting rights over their grounds and brought the money to the *curé*.

The priests themselves set an example to their flocks, giving both their money and their labor, and accomplished marvellous acts of generosity. In hundreds of places both *curés* and *vicaires* gave up their modest stipends to the cause, the price of their subscription to a newspaper, or the money usually devoted to the purchase of tobacco. Many of them sold their library or their furniture, some even parted with the sacred vessels; many contracted debts. At Estinnes-au-Mont, the priest, a cultivated old man, who possessed a valuable collection

of medals, sold them in order to cast the price into the educational treasury. Another old *curé* had safely invested his whole fortune, 20,000 francs, which he designed to be used in good works and in Masses for his soul. But a school must be built; he at once drew out 5,000 francs, then another 5,000, then the remainder. Alas! money was still wanting. However, in order to economize, he was his own architect; he gave up his salary, and the school was completed and filled with children. At Volkegem, the *curé*, an accomplished musician, gave concerts in all the well-to-do families in his district, and after charming his hosts with his vocal and instrumental talents, he held out his hand to beg for his school, and the concert ended with a profitable collection.

The *curés* of Luxembourg, in particular, distinguished themselves by their zeal, which they carried to a pitch of sacrifice. Poor, in the midst of a poor population, the Luxembourg priest did not content himself with retrenching in superfluities, he went on to curtail the necessities of life. First went all the savings laid up for his old age; this resource exhausted, many priests made money out of their cellars, and wine, beer, and meat no longer appeared on their tables. The instance is cited of one aged priest who carried this system of privation so far that he ruined his health, and ended by dying in want; his sister, who had taken her share also in the sacrifice, followed him to the grave. But the school survived, and the dying pastor was able to say that he had not left those souls to perish for whom, following his Master's example, he had given his life.

In default of all other resources, the Luxembourg clergy and their colleagues of Campine, who were were often equally poverty-stricken, set out for the more

wealthy districts of Flanders, and begged in the large towns and in country *chateaux*. They brought back, in addition to Flemish gold, yet more proofs of chivalrous endurance.

The result was worthy of the effort. It is not easy to form an accurate computation of the amount received by the parochial and provincial committees. Contemporaneous accounts estimate it at twenty million francs for the whole of Belgium, to which must be added about ten million francs, the value of gifts of land, houses, materials and furniture, transport and labor; but we believe this to be too low a figure, and that we are under the mark, in calculating the total outlay made in 1879 at forty millions. It was estimated that an annual income of nine or ten millions was required to meet ordinary expenses, and this sum had to be furnished by public generosity, a large proportion of this amount being actually subscribed by the end of 1879.

But money was not the only thing requisite. If the schools were to be opened at the beginning of the scholastic year, suitable premises to hold them in must either be found or constructed with all possible speed.

The work of installation was comparatively easy when the parochial committee could find a building in the neighborhood adapted for a school house, in which case it was at once either bought or rented. But there were country parishes where the most minute search failed to discover any suitable place in which to open the classes. In such cases the only thing to do was hastily to fit up any room or place which could be hired, or which was lent by the owners. In one place, a priest would give up some of the rooms in his presbytery; in another, the lord of the manor would convert some outbuildings into

a school; sometimes the mansion itself temporarily served the purpose, the nuns who had undertaken the management of the girls' school, being also boarded and lodged there. Generous benefactors gave up their houses to the Sisters who were expelled from the communal buildings; peasants set aside half their farm-houses in order that classes might be held in them. Sometimes a barn, a wine-shop, or a stable, was made to serve the purpose, and the school was carried on as well as it could be under these disadvantageous conditions pending the erection of the permanent school-house, which was being built in all haste.

One of these improvised schools, that of Baelegem—had the honor of causing a special meeting of the Chamber to be held. The inhabitants of that little Flemish commune, only a few days after the passing of the *Loi de malheur*, began the erection of a large primary Catholic school. This building not being ready by the time the schools assembled, a very humble substitute—a barn—had to suffice for a few weeks. The Liberals of the district, irritated at seeing the official school nearly empty, while the Catholic “shed” overflowed with pupils, speedily sent for a photographer from the neighboring town, who took a photograph of the barn adjacent to the new school, carefully leaving the latter out of sight. This photograph was posted up and exposed on all sides: it bore the legend—“*With God but without windows.*” The Liberal papers were overjoyed; a Radical member, M. Jotterand, being informed of the scandal, waxed indignant, and denounced “the insanitary state of the Catholic schools” in the Chamber. He had better have held his peace! A few days later the Catholics let this friend of light see that if the school at Baelegem appeared to be without windows, it was because it had been seen on

one side only. One of their friends, a photographer, went in his turn to take a view of the celebrated school. In place of a dilapidated barn, this new photograph showed a magnificent school-house, nearly completed, and lighted by six large windows. Above the picture were printed these words—"Dedicated to M. Jotterand," and beneath it, "The real school of Baelegem, a Catholic school, 20 meters in length, by 8 in breadth, and 4.50 meters in height." Photographs of the Baelegem School "with God and with windows," were sold for the benefit of the Catholic schools, and a great success was scored in the Chamber, where care was taken to exhibit them under the eyes of the partisans of schools "with windows, but without scholars."

At La Bouverie, the girls' school, an empty house which the *curé* had bought in September, 1879, was not ready by the end of the vacation. No temporary place could be found, and the classes had to be begun while the works of alteration and repairs were being carried on. The nuns who had just left the communal school lodged for some two months in a hay-loft, the school furniture was warehoused in a barn, and the school opened on September 29th, amid the obstructions of masons and carpenters. No benches, no desks, but nevertheless three hundred and fifty pupils seated on the floor were daily taught by the Sisters. A happy idea presented itself to the priest; the the Sisters' pupils attended Mass every day at the neighboring church, about ten minutes' walk from the school; and until the desks were ready the *curé* allowed each child to take a chair from the church. Henceforth a procession of three hundred and fifty little girls, each with a chair on her head and her school-satchel on her arm, might be seen every Monday going towards the school; and on Saturday the chairs were taken back in the same

way. During class the children used their knees as desks. As the masons went on with their work it not unfrequently happened that mortar falling from the trowels soiled the pupils' clothes and copybooks, but this in no way disconcerted them any more than it did the good Sisters who accepted this hard life with a smile on their lips.

The erection of the Catholic school in the country parishes was a very great business. The first stone was laid with much ceremony and accompanied by the benediction of the Church, then each one brought his offering, often also his labor. The teams of the farmers and landowners were available for transport; materials were gratuitously given; masons, carpenters, tilers, in more than one locality, worked without payment, the very poorest allowed themselves to be called on. In certain communes in the Ardennes the school was built entirely by the inhabitants under the direction of their parish priest; sometimes the *curé* himself took part in the labor.

The new schools were built with extraordinary rapidity. One of these buildings, undertaken by an indefatigable builder, M. Blaisir, *curé* of Olloy, was finished from the foundations to the roof in less than three weeks; another, erected at Gourdiune by the same priest, was completed in sixteen days; many were built in the course of a month. Thanks to this promptitude a good number of the new establishments were ready by the time the schools assembled, and the others were opened in the first weeks of the scholastic year.

In less than three months the Belgian Catholics, by dint of a courage and energy which it would be difficult to find equalled, improvised, in the face of the enemy, the splendid edifice of free, religious, primary educa-

tion. (1) It remained for the people to judge between them and the Liberals, and to decide where the children should be educated, for the possession of whom the contest was being carried on.

The nation's response was a brilliant triumph for the Catholics. On the re-opening of the classes on the 1st of October, 1879, the great majority of scholars left the official schools and took their places in those founded by the zeal of the clergy and the generosity of the faithful. The defiance hurled at the Left by Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, during the debate on the Education Bill was consequently justified—"Only one thing will be wanting to your schools, and it is that which will fill ours—the confidence of the people."

The Government itself owned to a diminution of 33 per cent. in the numbers attending the primary schools at the opening of the term, but this figure was evidently short of the truth. At the instance of the Brabant Committee of free education, statistics were obtained of the numbers of attendances at the schools throughout the country, with the following results:

Number of Communes		Schools in course of construction	Numbers attending schools.		Total.	Proportional results. per cent. Schools.	
having Catholic schools.	not having any.		Official.	Catholic		Catholic	Official.
1849	679	196	240,501	379,277	619,778	38,804	61.196

To appreciate the value of these figures, they must be compared with those of the preceding year. In December, 1878, when the law of 1842 was in force, the 687,749

(1) A year after the passing of the law of 1879 they had founded 2,064 free schools. In 1884 they had 3,885, served by 8,713 teachers.

children attending primary schools were distributed as follows:

A. SCHOOLS UNDER INSPECTION—			
1. Communal schools	527,417	}	597,624
2. "Adopted"	66,921		
3. Private subsidized	3,286		
B. Free schools			90,125
Total.....			687,749

These figures show a percentage of 86.9 for the Government schools, and only 13.1 for the free schools, of the children under instruction.

Under the new law, one year later, the official and subsidized schools had consequently lost 357,123 pupils, or 59.7 per cent. of their numbers in 1878; the free schools had gained 289,152.

But this was only the beginning. In October, 1880, the members of the provincial committees of free education resolved to take another educational census. This was done in the month of December, and the results, very carefully scrutinized, were published by M. Malou in the March following. We take the following figures from these statistics.

	Number of pupils.		Total.	Proportions per cent. Schools.	
	Official.	Catholic.		Official.	Catholic.
Primary schools.....	294,356	455,179	749,535	39.27	60.73
Infant schools.....	39,145	125,201	164,346	23.82	76.18
Total	333,501	580,380	913,881	36.50	63.50

The statistics as to the number of schools were no less encouraging. Out of the 2,515 communes of the country, at the end of 1880, 1,936 possessed one or more Catholic schools. Free education was not yet organized in 567 communes; but there was in these a large proportion of unimportant villages the children from which attended the neighboring free schools. Sixty-two communes, lastly, possessed no school.

The victories of Catholic charity over the official millions will be better appreciated by reading the following statement :

Pupils in Primary Schools, Categorically Specified.

Categories.	Number of Communes.	Population.	Number of pupils		Total Categories.	Numbers per cent.	
			Catholic.	Official.		Catholic.	Official.
A. Communes where the official schools number 0 to 25 scholars...	718	838,547	106,993	7,618	114,611	98.35	6.65
B. Where the official schools number 26 to 50 scholars	484	614,637	68,655	18,209	86,864	79.04	20.96
C. Where the official schools number 51 to 100 scholars	584	766,699	71,190	43,894	114,584	62.13	37.87
D. Where the official schools number 101 to 1,000 scholars	702	1,992,623	180,763	149,743	280,506	46.62	53.38
E. Where the official schools have more than 1,000 scholars	27	1,101,226	77,578	75,392	152,970	50.71	49.29
	2,515	5,308,732	455,179	294,356	749,535	60.73	39.27

These figures speak for themselves. They definitely establish the victory of free over official education, and from this point of view show a marked improvement on the situation in December, 1879.

Flanders here shows to best advantage, the neutral schools have hardly more than one-fourth of the scholars (25.48 per cent.). In certain districts the proportion was particularly striking. Maeseyok, Saint-Nicolas, Turnhout, sent 90 per cent. of their children to Catholic schools; at Thielt and Roulers the numbers were nearly 96 per cent.

The results were less brilliant in the four Walloon provinces. In two of these, namely Liège and Hainaut, large industrial centres, and at all times hotbeds of Belgian Liberalism, the Government had a majority. Generally speaking, the success of free education was greatest in the agricultural regions, and least in the manufactural or urban districts.

It was a rude blow to the Government,

From the first onset, the result obtained by the Catholics, in face of the united strength of the State, surpassed all expectation; the law of 1879 became a *Loi de malheur* to its inventors, a benefit to those whose faith it was intended to shipwreck. This state of affairs, which was continually on the increase, drew from M. Emile de Laveleye, an implacable adversary of the Church, this significant avowal:

"I know of no more remarkable proof of the power which the Church has at her disposal, than what has been accomplished by her in Belgium since the reform of primary education in 1879. In the space of two years, she has established in nearly all the communes of the country, a school for boys and one for girls, and attracts to them a far more considerable number of children than do the official schools." (1)

But we have hitherto only considered one aspect of the strife: the educational organization of the Catholics. We must now occupy ourselves with their opponents. The persecution by the Liberal Government is fruitful in valuable teaching, and it had, moreover, no other practical result beyond giving occasion for fresh acts of heroism among the Catholics and ensuring the final triumph of their efforts.

PIERRE VERHAEGEN.

(1) *Revue de Belgique*, September, 1881.

The Battle of the Schools in Belgium



(1879—1884.)

III.

THE LIBERAL PERSECUTION.

UNABLE to suppress the Catholic Free Schools, the existence of which was guaranteed by the Constitution, the Government of M. Frère-Orban was obliged to compete with them, and to do this effectively it had to employ every means and utilize every influence at its disposal.

The first care of the Minister of Public Instruction was to reconstitute the machinery of education, greatly disorganized by the resignation of its most experienced officers. No difficulties were found to fill up the vacancies in the higher offices; but the case was different in respect of the schoolmasters and mistresses, a number of whom were required in a very short time to provide for the new schools and to fill up the posts left vacant by the resignation of the Christian masters.

M. Van Humbeeck was dismayed to see these resignations multiply as the date approached for the reopening of the classes in 1879. More than two thousand new teachers were needed to supply the official schools of all the communes in the country, and fresh vacancies were occurring every day, notwithstanding the intimidating measures to which he had recourse. A hunt for teachers was organized. Inspectors were everywhere set to work to recruit masters—certificated, “or even not certificated”—said the Ministerial circular. The law which excluded foreigners from holding educational posts was suspended by Royal decree. The War Office invited colonels to

send in names of any old teachers in the army capable (?) of acting as primary teachers.

The dearth still continuing, a large number of non-certificated pupils, from sixteen to seventeen years of age, were taken from the State normal schools and appointed to the office of communal teachers; at length even totally inexperienced youths were employed. A teacher who had been one year only at a normal school was sent to Reppel; one of fifteen years of age was set over the school of Oedelem; Geerdigen received a young man who had only passed through a primary school. These incredible nominations, made contrary to the wish and rights of the communes, became of frequent occurrence, and the Minister ended by applying to totally incompetent people. The charge of the official school at Ellicom was intrusted to a traveller; at Greindl the post of master was filled by a boy of thirteen years. In other places men of a worthless character were unscrupulously appointed: at Woubrechtgem, for example, the tuition of the two pupils attending the official school was intrusted to a master notorious for drunkenness; while Opoeteren was afflicted with one who, as the result of proceedings brought against him in the court of justice, had been compelled to tender his resignation in another commune.

No less difficulty was experienced in providing teachers for the girls. In vain the Minister emptied the normal schools, engaged every candidate who presented herself, and contented himself with young girls who had no teaching beyond that given in a primary school or workroom; in vain he even went so far as to hire nurses and domestic servants; during several months a number of classes remained empty for want of mistresses to conduct them, and until 1884 the staff of women teachers was insufficient.

In reality, taking into account the appalling inferiority of the number of official pupils, the difficulty was not so great as it was made to appear.

In the sitting of the Chamber of the 18th November, 1879, M. Frère-Orban announced, somewhat complacently, that there were *only* 168 official schools *absolutely* deserted in the whole country. Significant though it was, this avowal of the Prime Minister was not adequate. The number of empty schools was, in reality, much more considerable, and to this should have been added a still larger number which were almost destitute of scholars.

In Limbourg there were 38 communal schools completely empty; in Eastern Flanders there were 53 which had no pupils, and 68 others in which there were not more than 10 children. In the province of Namur 38 communes contained one or more schools absolutely deserted; there were more than 61 which did not count 10 scholars each. In Luxembourg the proportion was still larger. In that province there were 32 communes where not a single boy or girl attended the school; while 59 schools did not muster 5 pupils each, and 64 had from 5 to 9, but did not reach 10. In the whole country 728 communes, or about one-third of the total number, did not count more than 25 children in any of their official schools. Here is a little fact which exhibits a state of things which was found also in many other rural districts. The only pupil at the communal schools of Moerkerke was a little boy of nine years; one day the Curé met the poor child walking alone in the fields. "Well, my boy," he said, "is there no school to-day?" "*No, Father; when I do not go to school, there is no school.*"

Even these brilliant results were not obtained without great effort. Together with the hunt for teachers a

regular hunt for pupils had been organized all over the country. Application was first made to those whose situation made them dependent on the central administration; nearly everywhere, in fact, the great majority of the children attending the State schools were either inmates of public institutions, or the children of the teachers themselves or to other State officials. In many rural communes the children of these functionaries were the only pupils in the neutral schools. On the other hand, the members of the official school committees, pedagogues of all ranks, poor-law masters, the liberal rural guards and other freethinkers, set to work conscientiously beating up the smallest hamlets, and bringing in all they succeeded in finding, enrolling without distinction scholars big and little, who did not attend any school for the good reason that they were either too old or too young. In the adult schools at Houffalize there were pupils of forty, fifty, sixty, and even seventy years of age. Many primary schools, on the contrary, were attended by infants of tender years. M. Beernaert drew the notice of the Chamber to a girls' school in West Flanders which contained ten pupils of not more than three-and-a half years of age.

There are classes (declared M. Malou) which are filled with little tots to such an extent that at the close of the school one-half of the pupils carry away the remainder; it is even said that, on account of their want of training, it has been found necessary to put sand down behind the benches.

In an important commune of East Flanders, a member of the official education committee one day triumphantly brought a child to a schoolmistress to occupy the empty benches of her school. The schoolmistress remonstrated, as the child was only *a year and a half old*. The recruiting agent, however, insisted and threatened

dismissal, but without success. The child was taken back to its mother, but an unfavorable report of the teacher was sent to the Minister of Public Education.

The public hostility to the Education Law became menacing, especially in the country districts, where every token of dislike was shown to the neutral teachers. The latter had made themselves detested to such a degree, that in many villages the inhabitants treated them as renegades, and abstained from any intercourse with them. In some places the carriers refused to convey them and their goods to their new habitations. Elsewhere the peasants declined to sell them necessary food, and they were obliged to procure bread, meat, and beer from the neighboring towns. Tradesmen refused to supply them with goods. Sometimes there was no lodging attached to the school, and the teacher had to find a room in the village; then the owners joined in declining to let them one, and they were obliged to lodge outside the place.

The communal administrations were also, as a rule, hostile to the new teaching. They usually declined to exercise their right of nominating the master and abstained from voting his salary. Most of them energetically opposed the erection of new schools, and indirectly supported the free education, which was that alone which the people desired.

The only thing for the Government to do in face of this formidable opposition was to temporize. It did just the contrary, and rushed headlong into the fight against liberty and conscience, and local autonomy. We will follow this iniquitous strategy in its varying phases, and note how free education was combated by wasteful expenditure; how parents were tempted by the bait of gratuitous education and their vigilance deceived by a hypocritical simulation of false religious zeal; how shame-

ful pressure was put upon them; and lastly how free education was itself directly attacked, and the clergy who upheld it subjected to the ignominy of examination by an educational commission.

"We have established a system of education," exclaimed a high Masonic dignitary in the Chamber; "we must maintain it." And without taking the wish of the nation into consideration, the Government proceeded to execute the *ukase* of Freemasonry. It commenced by robbing the communal treasuries, by imposing exorbitant education rates on them, veritable war taxes.

The object in view was twofold. On the one hand it was hoped that, while the machinery of the Government was being strengthened, Catholics would in the long run grow weary of contributing twice over for the same object; and on the other hand vengeance was being taken on the recalcitrant communes by ruining them, and their resistance was punished by the destruction of their autonomy.

It was perfectly well recognized in high circles that this method of procedure would have no immediate results in the way of filling the empty schools; but at least it was made quite apparent that the Government had no idea of drawing back. To exhaust the nation, in order the better to fight it, was the programme of the Masonic educational policy. The communes were to be fleeced, not on account of any real necessity in the public service, but because of the sympathies and preferences which the inhabitants showed for free education.

New schools were decided on in precisely those communes where official teaching was viewed with most disfavor—exactions, the real vindictive character of which the Government did not attempt to disguise. The number of superfluous teachers increased in proportion to the diminution of the number of their pupils; they became

Ministerial bailiffs, living at the expense of the inhabitants. In short, the Government seemed to have taken for its maxim, that the less the recourse had to official education in a commune, the heavier were to be the educational rates.

These performances of the Liberal policy in all their details were made known to the country through the medium of the Catholic press, and by the chiefs of the Right in their speeches in the Chamber and in the Senate. Every year the discussion of the Education Budget was the occasion of a regular complaint being made against the Government, and its shocking wastefulness. We will extract some particularly striking passages from these exposures of facts.

And first a few words as to the schools. The rule was to construct new ones everywhere, even where the existing schools more than sufficed. At Sainte-Marie-Hoorebeke, a commune containing less than 1,000 souls, two schools were established for boys, two for girls, and two infant schools. At Oostakker there was a mixed communal school with eleven pupils, nine boys and two girls; the Minister ordered the commune to erect a girls' school. At Beveren, near Roulers, there was one pupil in the official school; the Minister insisted on another school being established. In Limbourg the number of children attending the public schools had formerly been 25,000; it had fallen to 4,800, but that did not hinder M. Van Humbeeck from decreeing the erection of more than a hundred new schools. From 1879 to 1884, the communes spent more than 26,000,000 francs in educational buildings, and that in spite of a decrease of more than 300,000 pupils.

The appointment of teachers was the occasion of still more revolting abuses. As we have seen, they were nearly all nominated by the State, the communes for the

most part declining to have any hand in this shameful waste of the public money. At length the Government went so far as to choose teachers without even consulting those communal administrations which were judged to be unfriendly.

Everything was done according to the will and pleasure of the Government. A few examples will suffice to prove this. At Zwevezele there was a schoolmaster for two children; this was not enough; the Minister appointed an under-master. At Oos Roosebeke there was only one pupil in the State school. It seemed as if one teacher ought to suffice, and the commune was of this opinion, but it was mistaken; the Government inflicted a second master on them. And this was not all; the solitary pupil left the school, so that henceforth the two teachers passed the day in looking at each other. At Oprakel, a village containing 1,750 souls, the communal school for boys was empty, whilst for girls there was one child, not belonging to the commune; now for that one girl there was a headmaster, an under-master, an under-mistress, and the Minister nominated a second under-mistress.

There was no limit to the abuses which were exercised to increase the emoluments of these interesting functionaries. M. Van Humbeeck was not content with the sums granted by the communes as fixed by the law; he everywhere increased them, and usually without the slightest grounds, or on the most frivolous pretexts.

The official school at Thilrode contained one scholar, a girl, who was taught by a master and a mistress. The former received a salary of 1,800 francs, and an additional 100 for teaching the catechism: another 200 was added for . . . "an adult school" which was never attended by any one but the master himself. As for the mistress, she received 1,200 francs, so that the education of one little girl cost the commune the trifling

sum of 3,300 francs in salaries only. At Burst a mistress for needlework was appointed, the wife of the master, although the official school was only attended by three boys. At Laerne twenty-two pupils attended the school, boys and girls, including the master's four children; among the masculine part of these were quite little boys in petticoats. The place of under-master fell vacant, and the communal council struck it out of the Budget of 1880. M. Van Humbeeck hastened to fill up the vacancy, and appointed one of the master's sons, leaving it to the master to choose whichever of his three sons he thought best. The eldest was thirteen years old, but the second, a boy of twelve, who still attended the paternal school, was selected. The Minister had allotted a salary of 1,200 francs to the place of under-master; a splendid opening for a young man, who thus passed at one bound from the pupil's bench to the master's desk. But this was not all. M. Van Humbeeck, who wished to prove the affection he had for his teachers, appointed the wife of the schoolmaster to the post of "mistress of manual works," which brought her in 500 francs for teaching two girls to knit, one of whom was her own child. This privileged family thus received the sum of 3,900 francs a year from the communal budget of Laerne.

The administrations, solicitous for the interests of their constituents, fought as long as possible, and resisted the exactions of the Ministry to the uttermost of their power. Sometimes they gained their cause, thanks to the energy and perseverance of their opposition; but more often their protests were useless against the combined forces of centralization and bureaucracy; they only succeeded in drawing on themselves the anger of the Government, and in provoking fresh annoyances.

It seemed as if a fourth power had established itself

in the State, a power absorbing all the others, imposing itself on all, and calling itself the *Education Authority*. Everything had to yield, and did yield before the despotism of this authority; it discounted beforehand the Ministerial, and even the Royal signature. It was useless to endeavor to learn by what rules this educational authority was guided, upon what principles it was based, by whom it was directed, who it was that fixed the salary of one master at 200 francs, of another at 300 or 400 francs, though the positions of these masters were absolutely identical, as they all, or nearly all, found themselves in empty schools.

To weary out the "clerical" communes, to thwart free education, to act as a spy on too independent burgo-masters and other functionaries, to make itself the servile accomplice of the Ministry, these were in fact the only real occupations of this mysterious power, to which provincial governors, district commissaries, inspectors, members of school committees, and schoolmasters appointed to lucrative sinecures were subject. A rigorous system of espionage was carried on; the schoolmasters who wished to please considered this the road to preferment; they knew that by acting the spy and giving information they made themselves well known, and they spied and denounced to the utmost. Not only were accusations received, but they were solicited, suggested by the Government agents. They often afforded pretext for administrative or judicial inquiries. A communal administration might find itself reputed factious on the faith of an anonymous denunciation. The superior power acted towards the local authorities exactly as if it were in a conquered nation. Incited by the informers in its pay, it made or unmade the communal budgets, it built or enlarged the schools, it unceasingly augmented the number of schoolmasters, and introduced its own

creatures into the lucrative posts of official education.

While the Government was carrying out this system of waste, the Liberal communal administrators more cunningly endeavored to gratify the spirit of economy of the parents by giving absolutely gratuitous education in the schools placed under their direction. Equally lavish with money not belonging to them, as they were niggardly in spending their own funds, Belgian Liberals never hesitated to saddle the public with the burden by which they themselves profited. In this instance the Liberals were generous at the expense of the Catholics, and paid for gratuitous neutral teaching with the money of all the ratepayers.

The large towns set the example, the village potentates followed suit. Some administrations, not content with providing free education, also gave clothes and annual gratuities to the children attending the communal schools. At Neufchâteau tickets on the Savings Bank were promised; at Ruelle all school necessities were given gratuitously, except to those boys whose sisters did not attend the official school. The communal administration of Pamele (fourteen pupils and four teachers) gave presents of linen to the parents, and drums and dolls to the children. But Verviers surpassed them all in this tout-ing for pupils. In order to induce parents to send their children to the communal schools, a dentist was appointed to give his services to the pupils gratis.

The permanent deputations of the Provincial Councils, whose legal province it was to control the budgets of the communes, tried hard to keep within due limits the gratuitous admission of children in the communal schools, and to restrain the zeal of those communes which, in contravention of their resolutions, still continued to make additions to their lists of poor. But these decisions sel-

dom succeeded in hindering the effect of the measures voted by the Liberal administrations. On appeal, the Government consistently annulled the decisions of the permanent deputations, on the pretence that they were "prejudicial to the general interest," and "that the commune is better able than any one else to know who is to receive gratuitous teaching."

On the other hand a large number of communes declined to put well-to-do children on their lists; in that case the Education Inspector protested, and the Government decided in favor of the Inspector. "The commune," it said, "does not understand these things, it does not know how the lists of children of an age to attend school should be drawn up; no attention can be paid to these whims." The Government thus ended by breaking its own law and almost everywhere insisting on gratuitous instruction.

But this was labor lost; the Catholics did the same in their schools, and the official establishments continued to be deserted. The "education authority" then had the names of children who attended the free schools inscribed on the official lists of poor children. The number of the Liberal pupils was thus fictitiously swelled to such an extent that at Limbourg, for example, in 1881, more than one thousand children wrongfully figured on the State Inspector's list; the Charity Boards were then applied to and compelled to increase the emoluments of the official schoolmasters in proportion to the number (true or false) of poor children inscribed on their lists, and it was a revolting spectacle to see in many places these superfluous functionaries benefit by grants unduly levied on the patrimony of the poor. What was still more odious was that children who had died, and children belonging to families in easy circumstances were inscribed on the lists of indigents. At Eecke, where

the communal school did not contain a single scholar, the schoolmaster named the son of M. de Bock, a lawyer at Ghent, and owner of a country house in the locality, as being assisted by public charity. At Eyne, the Minister formally entered on the lists of poor the children of the burgomaster and the notary. An inspector of St. Trond made the daughter of a large land-owner in the suburbs, who was eligible for the Senate, appear on his list.

If the Government ended by obliging the ratepayers to defray the expenses of the schools, it had not the same coercive methods at its command to enable it to compel parents to send their children to them. It understood, when too late, the political error it had committed in rudely shocking the religious feeling of the population; in face of the general hatred excited by the law, it was resolved to modify the working of it in order to disguise its anti-religious character.

The first indications of these tactics were seen in the attitude of the Cabinet even before the parliamentary debate on the law, and the Government went further in this system of concessions, in proportion as the strife grew more stubborn, and the detestation of the nation for neutral education became more apparent. Every possible subterfuge was employed to lull the parents' misgivings. Some days before the vote, M. Frère-Orban, showing to the Chamber what religious instruction would be given under the rule of the new law, exclaimed: "It will be the same as at present; *nothing will be changed.*"—"There is no change," echoed M. Van Humbeeck, "except that the independence of the civil power will be restored."

There is no change! This was the formula which was thereafter to be hawked about in all places and on all occasions as a message of peace. "There is no change!"

said the modifying circulars of M. Van Humbeeck; "the organization of 1842 continues, religious instruction will be given in the public schools exactly as in the past." "There is no change!" repeated the Government agents in chorus, and the good news immediately spread abroad everywhere; it was commented on in the confidential instructions addressed to functionaries of all ranks; it was communicated to the parents by inspectors and members of the education committees; it was made the theme of speeches given at distributions of prizes.

M. Van Humbeeck recoiled from no sacrifice in order to show the capital importance he attached to the teaching of dogmatic morality. He bought at one time three hundred thousand francs' worth of catechisms and scattered them profusely in all the communes. He fixed the remuneration of those charged with giving religious instruction in the official schools at a hundred francs yearly for each class taught. He ordered schoolmasters to teach the catechism at the usual hours, even when the parents had not formally asked for it; he encouraged them to take their pupils to church, as in the past, and to see that prayers were regularly recited before and after school. He advised, nay, he even compelled, the communal authorities to retain in their schools the religious emblems which were formerly there.

These edifying dispositions of the Minister found an immediate echo in the teaching staff. Everywhere, most unexpected and almost miraculous conversions took place: where, under the law of 1842, all the efforts of ecclesiastical inspectors and priests had failed, the circulars of M. Van Humbeeck succeeded at the first onslaught. On reading them, schoolmasters who till that time showed little piety, felt themselves touched by grace, and began to "practise" fervently. The Sunday Mass was no longer enough for them, they were to be seen in church nearly

every day ; to the ordinary school prayers, which were said with unusual regularity, they sometimes added the Rosary ; in short, they endeavored to prove to the astonished public that they were better Christians than their adversaries the " clericals."

Certain burgomasters went still further. Desirous of showing their zeal for "the august religion of their fathers," the most violent of them assumed airs of toleration and piety. At Mechelen-sur-Meuse, the burgomaster put a notice on the official school bearing the words "*Communal Catholic School.*" Elsewhere the local administrations still further accentuated the religious character of their schools by placing in them many objects of piety. In a commune near Antwerp, the administration put up a notice that it had placed "two crucifixes, two statues of the Blessed Virgin, a statue of St. Joseph, and a statue of the Holy Child" in the official school. In the district of Philippeville, the burgomasters distributed rosaries in the schools. At Peruwelz, M. de Kerchove, Governor of Hainaut, presiding at a prize distribution, spoke with tears in his voice of "the venerated image of Christ, that sweet consolation of the afflicted, that holy example of devotion and goodness." "Do not be uneasy," he added, "it will continue to occupy the place of honor in the school."

This comedy deceived no one, and while the Government endeavored to cast a veil over the principles and tendencies of its schools, the Catholic communal councillors, on the contrary, took care to show them up whenever an occasion presented itself ; sometimes they refused to vote for the money to buy catechisms destined for the public schools ; sometimes they forbade the official schoolmasters to make their pupils recite religious lessons ; sometimes they had the religious emblems taken away from the official school. In vain the Government can-

celled these orders; it could not overcome the mistrust of the people. But the hypocrisy of the Cabinet did not only excite the disgust of the Catholics; it profoundly irritated the Progressives. The latter daily asked themselves whether after having legally destroyed the religious education law, the Government was not in fact re-establishing it, and without reaping any real advantage from all these concessions.

The Law (wrote the *Flandre Liberale*) does not make it the duty of the Government to listen to the wishes of parents on the subject of religious instruction. Quite the contrary. To ascertain their views and endeavor to carry them out, beyond the limits of Article 4, would only be to embark in a fruitless and inconsistent undertaking. We freethinkers wish the school to be strictly, rigorously neutral, which is the only way to ensure the result of snatching souls from the degrading yoke imposed on them by the Church!

For some little time the Government refused to yield to these demands; but once entered on the path of radicalism, it had recourse to the rigorous measures advocated by the advanced Liberals, and first of all made use of administrative pressure. This pressure constituted their chief weapon. State education could never have been organized, and State schools would have remained empty had it not been for the threats and force to which officials, poor fathers of families, and, in short, all those who were accessible to the argument of hunger, were exposed.

The Cabinet began by putting unheard-of pressure on all its agents to constrain them to send their children to the public schools, or to let them remain there. Functionaries of all kinds, tax-collectors, road-makers, workers in the arsenals, official tradesmen, all those who sought for office or presented any request, had to choose between their interests and their conscience. The education in-

spectors made the lives of the schoolmasters a perfect purgatory, tormenting and ceaselessly worrying them on account of their lukewarmness. Some of the lower-grade politicians invited them to become members of the Liberal Association of their district. Superior functionaries might even be seen forcibly enrolling the official teachers as Freemasons. The immense army of men employed on the State railways did not escape this moral pressure any more than the rest. The education policy was even introduced into the army. The soldiers were requested to inform the Ministry what schools they had attended; those who were fathers of families had also to say how many children they had who went to school, and to what schools they sent them. Poor people who refused to send their children to the State schools were even threatened that no notice would be taken of any objections made by them when their sons, of an age for military service, should be drawn for.

The Liberal burgomasters imitated these fine examples and sometimes even surpassed them. In many communes no one employed by the committee, no policeman, not even a road sweeper, could send his children to the "clerical" school with impunity, and those who ventured to do so were at once dismissed. They learnt in this manner of how many different interpretations the terms *liberty of conscience* and *equality of all citizens in the sight of the law* are capable.

Still more odious was the pressure put on the poor and the needy sick by certain Charity Boards and Liberal communes. This is the kind of pressure which Liberalism has always most willingly practised, and on the largest scale, as besides being able to be exercised secretly, it offers more chances of success than any other. The poor, the weak, the miserable, in short, all those who suffer or who yield in silence are the prey of its cowardly attacks.

The Charity Boards and Liberal administrations assisted in this work. They were everywhere aided by all who were in any way connected with the Government, and particularly by the members of the official education committees.

Hardly any idea can be formed of what the pressure of hunger meant. At first some restraint was used in the threats addressed to indigent families, as if the Government was conscious that it was a cowardly thing to do. But this period of hesitation and of the incubation of the Liberal tyranny was of no long continuance; the agents of the official education conscription soon exercised open persecution. In most of the large towns the principal object of the poor-law masters was not to distribute public help impartially and efficaciously, but to exclude Catholic parents who refused to betray the duties they owed to their children. Many communal administrations and Charity Boards were not content with these occult methods; they took steps prohibiting poor people from sending their children to the free schools, under penalty of being deprived of all help.

The Charity Boards recoiled at no extreme measures; instead of being softened by the habitual spectacle of misery and constant calls for the exercise of legal "charity," they seemed to be hardened against all movement of pity or remorse. At Olloy an old woman, seriously ill, asked the burgomaster to sign the doctor's order for medicine; the burgomaster refused because the old woman's grandchildren attended the free school; the woman died the next day. At Diest, a poor woman, eighty-five years of age, afflicted with dropsy, was deprived of her monthly allowance of five francs because her sister had resigned her post as mistress in the official infant school. In the same town the Charity Board refused the assistance of a midwife to a woman named Warnodts, and would not

provide coffins to several persons whose children had died of an epidemic of smallpox. At Furnes, a poor blind man was struck off the list for a whole winter because his two little daughters attended the Sisters' school. When one of them died for want of attention and care and the man asked for a coffin for his child, the Board refused his request. "You will have nothing," they said, "until your second girl is taken away from the free school." The unhappy man stood firm; he went to the houses of all the members of the Board; he was everywhere sent away. But the populace was roused; the irritation threatened to result in a revolt, and the burgomaster was at length obliged to yield to the popular feeling.

The same things were taking place in a large number of communes. Some poor wretches at last yielded to pressure. Others took their children from the free schools and kept them at home. The greater number resisted. At Anvers, 2,400 families, representing more than 3,000 children, preferred allowing themselves to be struck off the lists of Boards of Charity, rather than fail in their duty by withdrawing their children from the free schools.

The faith of martyrs was alive among these humble folk. In proportion as the persecution became more rigorous, so did heroic acts of sacrifice multiply. A poor sick man at Chiny, Forget-Camus, pursued even to his bed of suffering by the representatives of official philanthropy, made this proud reply to them: "If I must die for want of care and assistance, and leave my children in misery, I can at least leave them the example of my fidelity to religion." A workman at Berlaer, whom the communal schoolmistress endeavored to induce to send his children to the neutral school, declared "that he would rather dig a hole in the earth with his hands and take refuge in it with his wife and children, than give up the

latter to the people who had ruined the faith of his ancestors."

At the same time that they were endeavoring to fill their schools by the means which have just been described, the Liberals made a direct attack on the liberty of teaching, which flourished so marvellously by the side of their own non-success. Diverse means were employed for the time being to cripple free instruction in its existing establishments; collections and lotteries for the benefit of the Catholic schools were forbidden in many places; foundations for free education were suppressed. A certain number of Catholic schools were closed as defective in sanitary requirements; the local administrations were forbidden to facilitate in any way the acquisition or use of places necessary for the establishment of private schools; lastly, in some hundreds of communes the Government suppressed the stipend of ecclesiastics who supported schools founded by themselves out of their modest resources. But of all the measures adopted in violation of the constitution or of the law, the most celebrated, the most cynical, and that which excited to the utmost degree both the indignation of the Catholics and the disgust of all honest people, was the "Educational Inquiry" (*Enquête Scolaire*), decreed by the Chamber in 1880.

The pretext made for this inquiry was that of giving to the nation a general idea of the condition of primary education in Belgium, and of the results of the law of 1879. A commission was appointed consisting of twenty-five members, chosen from the Chamber of Representatives, who were invested with nearly all the powers appertaining to examining magistrates.

The Commission of Education Inquiry was nominated on the 5th of May, 1880, and consisted of the most notoriously sectarian members of the majority. It issued its programme in the month of June.

"The complaints made against the law by the Bishops [it stated] have alarmed the consciences of the citizens and excited resistance. . . . Acts of rebellion, or of ill-will, . . . abuses of power, acts of inhumanity have been laid to the charge either of the clergy, or of the communal administrations, or of private individuals. The first part of our task will be to verify facts, to investigate whether they have been the outcome of legitimate resistance, or whether they constitute attempts at usurping the rights of the Chambers and of the Government. . . . But the law of 1879 has not only suppressed the authority and control of the clergy over public education; it has also reorganized that education. The nation ought to know the value of this change in the system of teaching."

Under an appearance of impartiality, the end to be pursued was clearly seen, and was nothing else than the downfall of free education, and the disgrace of the clergy who were the principal authors of its success.

The beginnings of the inquiry accentuated still more its militant nature. In order to accumulate as many accusations as possible against those who were already pronounced guilty, a *previous inquiry* was secretly instituted to prepare the way. The informers in the service of M. Van Humbeeck were charged to draw up lists of suspected persons in each district, and to furnish the parliamentary inquisition with grounds on which to begin their work, by the information they afforded. The Government thus facilitated the task of the inquisitors, so that when they arrived on the field of operations, they would find papers drawn up and instructions given beforehand. They would know against what Catholics they had to discharge their batteries; they would know what questions to put in order to attack most efficaciously free education; they would know also what ques-

tions *not* to put, for fear of injuring the Liberal party and the official schools.

The ground being prepared, the inquiry could now begin, and its first sitting was held at Gedinne, 15th of September, 1880. There was not the slightest question of opening a serious, loyal, searching inquiry into the condition of primary education, official and private. If this had been the principle adopted, the first questions to put both to the clergy, to the schoolmasters and to the burgomasters would have been these: "Were you satisfied with the scholastic situation under the law of 1842? Are you satisfied with the new state of things created by the law of 1879? What are the reasons of your opinions?" It is a characteristic fact that during the whole of the inquiry these rational and obvious questions were not once asked. Instead, all the efforts of the inquisitors were directed toward bringing the Liberal settlement of the educational situation into esteem. Not a single official schoolmaster, not a Liberal burgomaster, appeared before the Commission without repeating three or four times over the famous refrain, "*There is no change.*" The president pushed the button and the refrain came forth with quite mechanical precision. In reality everything was changed, as the inquisitors knew better than any one, but, by causing the contrary to be stated during the inquiry, they were preparing a case on which to come down on the priests. For from the beginning the inquiry was a *process instituted against the clergy* and nothing else.

The judges were three in number, aided by a secretary chosen outside the Commission. They arrived at the chief towns of the canton, where they were about to make their inquisition, provided with a plan of campaign carefully drawn up by the means we have described. Knowing how the accusation might be made and what com-

plaisant witnesses could be summoned, the inquisitors began by citing the official education functionaries, *i. e.*, the natural opponents of free teaching. These witnesses regularly began by saying that before the *loi de malheur* they had three times as many pupils in their schools as they had at present.

The official schoolmaster then accounted for this fact. But the thought of attributing it to the very natural cause of the liberty of conscience of the Catholic parents never entered his head. If he had allowed himself to make this simple and straightforward reply, he would have run the risk of being given a black mark in the books of the inquisitors, who had come expressly for the purpose of proving, in face of all testimony to the contrary, that the official school was only empty because of the odious influence of the priest. The master then posed as a victim; and made himself interesting by attacking the Curé. And what a deluge of tales, each one more ludicrous than the other, what exaggerations and insinuations, what tittle-tattle were encouraged and welcomed by the inquisitors!

It was necessary to corroborate these stories, and there were witnesses all ready to do so. Their qualifications mattered little; one only was necessary—a strong feeling of exasperation against the priest, a good dose of priest-hatred. The Voltairians of the public houses most reputed in the district for their anti-clericalism appeared, and through them was brought to light all the under-current of discontents, grudges, petty rivalries, that seethed in the background of the villages; the whole was legally drawn up, after being carefully sorted, exaggerated, enlarged and made the most of. So well was this operation performed, that afterwards the priests appeared to be so many terrible monsters, odious tyrants, without feeling, morality, or compassion.

The *accused* was now for the first time brought on the scene, knowing nothing of what had been hatched against him. He had not even heard the imputations made against him; for the witnesses who were cited were carefully isolated, and the priest was summoned in the character of a "witness," but it was in reality in that of an "accused" that he appeared. Previous information had been given against him; the story told by the informers, who had been taught their lesson, was simply one long accusation, designed to overwhelm him, and the questions put to him were confined to resuming, point by point, the act of accusation drawn up by official spies. The priest was obliged to defend himself there and then, on oath, before a hostile president and judges, who endeavored to embarrass, oppose, and cut him short, hardly allowing him to speak, and treating him as if he were already found guilty. The priest was questioned on his public acts and private conduct, on his teaching in the pulpit, in the catechism class and in the confessional. And all this get-up, all this apparatus, was to result in proving, what was incontestable and uncontested, namely, that the neutral education was condemned by the Bishops and the Holy See; that the clergy had carried out the episcopal injunctions, by opposing the State schools, and by establishing, with the aid of their parishioners, religious schools, which everywhere had flourished; that they had administered the sacraments according to the dictates of their conscience, and without consulting the civil power; in short, that they had acted in accordance with their rights, and had fulfilled their duty.

It is not enough to say that the priest was examined; in order to make him avow what all the world already knew, he was harassed and annoyed in every way; threats and insults were lavished on him in turn. And when, rising to the height of his dignity, strong in the testimony

of his conscience and his right, the Curé referred to his oath and asked, "Am I here as a witness, or as an accused person?" the inquisitors hypocritically answered, "You are a witness," but gave themselves the lie at the same moment by continuing to ask him, "Have you done this? Have you said that?"

Once launched on this slope, they went further; they made of the witness, not an accused—for a person accused has always the right to defend himself—but a victim. They confronted him with his accusers, and making themselves the judges between him and them, they declared him guilty. Even that did not suffice; they were not content with condemning the priest; he must be punished and stigmatized. He was treated as a liar, a rogue, a thief; he was even reproached with not preaching the Gospel and with leaving souls to perish; he was given over to the mockery and jeers of a vile populace excited to the pitch of Masonic hate.

On the other hand, no inquiry was made as to the pressure put on the Charity Boards; nothing was heard either as to the abuses of the central administration, nor as to the disastrous financial condition of a large number of communes caused by the absurd and despotic requirements of the Ministerial bureaucracy. What do we say? Whenever witnesses volunteered to give evidence on these points, their depositions were scorned and not acted on; often even they were reduced to silence.

The Education inquiry lasted four years, and cost the public treasury 750,000 francs. That was the most tangible result—but certainly the least appreciated—of that cynical and grotesque comedy. When this fresh waste of money was known, the whole nation sent up one general cry of reprobation. The indignation of the Catholics displayed itself in the Chamber and in the press by eloquent protestations; the scandalous proceedings of

the inquisitors and the unexampled prodigality of the Ministry were denounced with a resentful force, which already felt itself victorious. The inquiry was over, but the stigma which had been thrown on it recoiled on the Government and completed its discredit in the eyes of the nation.

The discontent with the Ministerial policy became universal. During its six years' power, the Liberal Government had exhausted the vital strength and exploited all the resources of the nation; it had trodden under foot and compromised the national past. The country had had enough of its intolerance, its contempt of common law, its hatred of liberty, its servility in regard to Radicalism. It found fault with the excessive centralization of power, the violation of local autonomy, the unparalleled changes introduced into the administration. The nation blamed the interested perversions of representative government, (1) the unskillfulness and waste of its financial administration, the economic crisis which was its natural rebound; it found fault with the Government for having, during six years, sacrificed everything to party interests, for having reserved favors and offices for the Freemasons and their creatures, for having treated as enemies or suspected persons all those who differed from them, for having introduced servility and dissension in all posts, even in the magistracy and in the army. But above all, it reproached it with the religious and educational persecution, which had been its dominant object, and the principal end of its policy. The "*loi de malheur*" succumbed under the weight of the universal reprobation, and with it were condemned the vexations of all kinds which had accompanied its execution. The populace had had enough

(1) During the six years they were in power, the Liberal Government passed no fewer than six electoral laws, all conceived in the interest of their party.

of educational strife, of educational waste, of educational inquiries; they were weary of the administrative pressure, of the systematic espionage and of the violent hostility by means of which it was endeavored to enslave consciences, and to ruin private teaching. They were irritated by that anti-Catholic and anti-national policy which put Liberalism everywhere, and left liberty nowhere. Many moderate Liberals, and others, dismayed or disgusted by the strife, and determined not to allow all those vital interests to be sacrificed which were compromised by their party, separated from the Government; the entire nation demanded calm, rest, economy, respect for private rights; the need of reaction and of reparation made itself felt on all sides.

Such were the conditions under which the electoral campaign of 1884 was opened.

The Liberals were divided; they felt themselves condemned beforehand and morally vanquished. As if they wished to put a finishing touch towards enlightening people's minds, they threw all the power that was left them into a last excess of sectarian rage; and their plan of campaign was to publish their anti-clerical hatred and their intestinal quarrels in the newspapers.

While the Liberals endeavored to terrorize the country by this factitious agitation, the Catholics on their side were preparing for the election. The zeal shown in the organization of free education had been the remote preparation, and the most helpful, for the campaign of 1884. Catholic unity, both in word and action, continued to strengthen, and led to the final triumph. One of the party leaders, the former Minister Jacobs, formulated a programme of reforms which included these three principal points: *Educational Reform, Electoral Reform and Reform in order to extend local autonomy*. This was the programme of the whole Catholic party. The news-

papers vied with each other in commenting on it. Orators made it the theme of their speeches during the electoral campaign.

The Catholic troops thus advanced to the fight admirably organized, united, disciplined, and full of resolution. Each one did his duty. Electors came from Constantinople, from Cairo and Alexandria to record their votes.

The day of the 10th June, 1884, surpassed all hopes. The Ministry was everywhere defeated; two Ministers remained on the battlefield, and the Catholics came to the Chambers with a majority of thirty-four votes. "This is not a defeat," exclaimed the *Liberal Gazette*, "this is a crushing blow."

There was rejoicing from one end of the country to the other. One breathed at last. The victory of the 10th of June was celebrated in the rural districts by popular rejoicings in the midst of indescribable enthusiasm. In the small towns of Flanders the *Te Deum* was sung in the public squares. The directors of education committees, members of Catholic clubs, schoolmasters who had sent in their resignations, surrounded by all the children of their schools, were applauded and thanked for the energy with which they had resisted. It was indeed the "universal relief."

PIERRE VERHAEGEN.

The Month, May, 1905.

The Protestants of France

The Protestants of France



I

I.—THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARDS SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

WE do not propose to speak here of the doctrinal differences which exist between the divergent sects of French Protestants. Our purpose is merely to show how they stand in those practical matters which at present affect the existence of their Church and their belief.

In the project of law for the separation of Church and State, the Reporter, M. Briand, said that separation would safeguard "all rights, all interests and all liberties in proportion as the liberty of citizens in groups could be respected in a country which is concerned with the maintenance of public order," and he insinuated that the attacks of the Catholic speakers originated simply in the fact that the law had dissipated the dreams of political domination which their Church was cherishing. Whenever there was any vote, this calumnious accusation was upon his lips. The Chamber heard the last echo of it in his discourse before the final voting of the law, when he said that it was a triumph of justice and liberty. His official attitude, which was as bold as it was insolent, could deceive only those who did not know that the complaints of Protestants are almost identical with ours.

It is true that everything in the Palais-Bourbon was admirably contrived to create and augment this ignorance. The Protestant Deputies observed an almost absolute silence about the complaints of their co-religionists, for they did not want to appear to have any solidarity with Papists. The Parliamentary Commission and the Government spoke as if the law applied only to Catholics. Our own speakers seemed to follow the same course, whereas good policy would have suggested to them to reiterate incessantly what all the others wanted to conceal, especially as M. Reveillaud endeavored to persuade the Chamber that the majority of the Huguenots had nothing to say against separation.

It is true that when he made this declaration M. Grousseau, M. Cochin and M. Berger produced their texts and figures. That was good enough as far as it went, but they should have continued those tactics all along the line and for every detail of the law. It is true they would not have changed the vote, but they would have stopped this incessant clamor against the Church which the Reporter of the law has always had recourse to, and they would have dispelled the wrong impression created by M. Reveillaud. They would have prevented the opinion from gaining ground that Catholics alone were hostile to separation and that they alone complained of the law.

According to their principles, Protestants are or ought to be partisans of a free Church and a free State. Well and good. But, as a matter of fact, the greater part of the ministerial consistories have demanded the maintenance of the *statu quo*, and have all protested that they cannot accept this new condition of things except on the condition of having every guarantee which justice and liberty demand.

The Lutherans were the most categorical and the most persevering in their claims and the first to present them; and a few days after M. Combes formulated his law they transmitted to the Minister of Worship a resolution which was passed unanimously on November 8, 1904, in which they said:

"While sustaining the order of the day voted on the fourth of November, which demanded the maintenance of established order, and while admitting that certain dispositions of the law are of such a nature as to require certain qualifications, on the other hand, having resolved to discuss in this present deliberation only those articles which menace the Church and the Confession of Augsburg in its very existence, it respectfully requests the Minister of Worship to amend the project of law in such a manner that, first, Associations be authorized; secondly, that the property which actually constitutes the patrimony of the ministerial assemblies and consistories be maintained."

On the 15th of December a new, more urgent and more detailed document was presented. Articles 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12 and 20 of the Combes law were declared to be unacceptable because they attacked liberty of worship, liberty of ecclesiastical organization and the rights of property.

Simultaneously with this the Synod of Montbeliard formulated analogous reclamations, as did the consistories of St. Julien and Audincourt.

The Combes ministry fell. In the name of the new Government M. Bienvenue-Martin presented a new law. It was no more welcome to the Lutherans than the first one. The Executive Committee of the General Synod criticized its anti-liberal disposition (March 9). Two months afterwards the Synod laid before the Minister of

Worship its complaints against the law after it had been revised and presented to the Chambers.

The Synod demanded: "First, that the new law should authorize public establishments of worship, preserve whatever property had been used for the help of the poor, or for anything else outside of worship, to the various Associations. (Article 5.)

"Second, that it should decide when several religious Associations claimed the property of pastoral assemblies that it devolved upon the consistories to designate the Association which should become the proprietor. (Article 6.)

"Third, that the pension to be given to pastors should be continued for those who are in the exercise of the ministry and who are inamovable, and that it should order the insertion in the public budget of a special credit to continue the payment of the annual assistance which is now allotted to old and infirm pastors or to their widows. (Article 8.)

"Fourth, that it should guarantee to the pastoral councils and to the consistories the possession of the properties, the churches and the presbyteries which, by decree of the 1st and 10th of December, 1790, had been exempted from the sale of national property. (Article 10.)

"Fifth, that it grant the free use of places of worship and of presbyteries which belong to the State or to the Commune, to the religious Associations designated by the consistories, and that it determine that their alienation cannot be pronounced except by law on demand of the Municipal Council of the Commune which is interested. (Article 10.)

"Sixth, that it permit religious Associations to be established in conformity with the law of July 1, 1901, either as Associations of individuals or authorized Associations. (Article 16.)

"Seventh, that it accord the faculty to such authorized Associations to receive gifts and legacies subject to the ratification of the Government. (Article 17.)

"Eighth, that it should augment in larger proportions the sinking funds of the religious Associations by re-establishing the primitive text of the law as it was first adopted by the Commission. (Article 20.)

"Ninth, that it should modify articles 21 and 33 by not authorizing the tribunals to pronounce the dissolution of such Associations because of any accidental omission of the legal formula.

"Tenth, that modifications be made in articles 23, 24, 32 and 33 of the law, which characterize in terms which are altogether too vague what offences of ministers really are, and which establish a solidarity between ministers and the administrators of religious Associations, which as a matter of fact is inadmissible.

"Eleventh, that it should respect vested rights by dispensing definitely from the new year of active service those young men who, being ecclesiastical students, had, before the promulgation of the law of separation, obtained leave to be sent to their homes after a year of service in the army."

This quotation is long, but it is extremely interesting. Each one of these eleven complaints justifies ours, and as the Commission did not consider them, we know what the leaders of the Church of Augsburg think of the law of the 3rd of July. They did not fail to let their sentiments be known again and again.

We must admit that the sons of Calvin are more optimistic than the sons of Luther. Their proceedings and their ideas are more vague, but nevertheless they did not remain silent. As soon as they read the text of the Combes law the central council of the United Reformed

Churches, in the sessions of the 16th and 18th of November, 1904, issued the following declaration:

"The cessation of the union of Church and State has not been demanded by the Consistories, which are the authorized assemblies of the Church.

"The Central Council asserts the right to declare that since 1802 nothing in the attitude of the Reformed Churches has afforded a pretext for these conflicts or even for any complaint.

"The Reformed Churches view with regret, but without impugning the intentions of others, the project presented by the Government which will have as a result, if it is not modified, to compromise in the gravest manner their existence and development.

"The Central Council protests formally against the prohibition of Associations, the expropriation of property, the possible alienation of churches and the suppression of the Budget of Worship."

On the 21st of December, six members of the Fraternal Commission of the Reformed Churches of France demanded an audience from the Parliamentary Committee on Separation.

In the name of the Reformed Churches united to the State, the pastor, M. Lacheret, submitted a note which demanded, in the case of separation, the following conditions:

First, liberty of worship, implying the right to open a temple or oratory after a single declaration.

Second, the right of the Churches to keep their property, to receive subscriptions and, with the authorization of the Council of State, gifts and legacies, as well as the right to make their reserve fund amount to a capital whose revenue would be equal to the average annual expenses of the last five years.

Third, the right to establish a national union of the Churches; to have a central treasury and to receive gifts and legacies with the authorization of the Council of State.

Fourth, respect for vested rights in whatever concerns the property and the use of edifices consecrated to religion and seminaries.

Fifth, the right of pastors, professors and prefects of study, and of masters of conferences of the faculties of theology, to receive during their life, in default of actual salary, compensations proportioned to their age and their service.

Sixth, common right in the matter of taxation.

On Saturday, the 25th of February, 1905, the Central Council of the Reformed Churches of France demanded an audience of the new Minister of Worship. M. Louis Vernes and M. Jalabert insisted on M. Bienvenue-Martin granting them the advantages which they ask for in the new law.

M. Lacharet, in a note to the Commission, vigorously criticized the refusal to grant a legal standing to religious Associations. A great number of the consistories repeated the same criticism and demanded the same modifications.

The General Synod at Rheims then came to the fore. After a report by M. Reveillaud, it voted as follows:

"The General Official Synod of the Reformed Churches in France, assembled at Rheims, assured that Parliament will respect the traditional organization which by its democratic and parliamentary principles has constituted the strength and the honor of the Reformed Church of France, and convinced that it will leave to the religious Associations which are contemplated in the new law the permanent use of edifices consecrated to religion

and permit them to establish a sufficient reserve fund, and also allow them to take equitable measures for the support of ministers in actual service as soon as the new law goes into effect, declares, in conformity with the deliberations of the General Official Synod of 1872 and of the General Quasi-official Synod of 1902, that it is favorable to the separation of Church and State when it is brought about in a spirit of wisdom, justice and genuine liberalism. Understanding that a law of separation which would not authorize general religious Associations to possess a legal existence would be for French Protestantism, which is essentially national, most unjust and oppressive, it desires that the present declaration should be communicated to the President of the Council of Ministers, to the Minister of Worship, to the President of the Republic and to the Reporter of the Special Commission of the Chamber Deputies dealing with the subject of separation."

Comparing the attitude of the Calvinist Synod with that of the Lutheran Synod, M. John Vienot, Director of the *Revue Chrétienne*, admits with regret that they are in opposition. The expression is not altogether correct.

Very much occupied with the internal quarrel which is going on between the Liberals and the Orthodox, the Calvinists, that is to say, their chiefs, have not given to the law of separation the same sustained attention which has been bestowed on it by the Lutherans. It was a politician who started that discussion at Rheims.

The Assembly declared itself favorable to separation with modifications and under certain conditions. We ought, however, to note that this sentiment was vigorously assailed and had eight irreconcilable opponents in the session; and following the vote, M. Nyeegard and M. Vieles protested against the procedure which had been

adopted, declaring that they should not have voted in the absence of thirty members, only thirteen of whom signed the declaration.

Perhaps by this manœuvre at Rheims M. Reveillaud wanted to secure beforehand the policy of silence about the law. By the resistance which he met among the delegates of the Synod, and especially the categorical pronouncement of the greater part of the consistory, it is easy to judge that the main body of the Calvinists would have voted at the Palais-Bourbon not with M. Reveillaud, but with M. Berger. Even the assemblies of liberal Protestants made it clear that there would be much to amend in the proceedings of Parliament.

II.—HOW WILL THEY SUPPORT THEIR CHURCHES.

In consequence of the separation of Church and State the funds of the Protestant churches, like those of our own, will be considerably diminished.

Taking the specific item of funerals, of which the State now claims the monopoly, the Consistories of the large cities will, because of that, be deprived of a large part of their revenues. So writes M. Lods. For, in accordance with the law of December 28, 1904, *the exterior service*, which comprises "the carrying of the body to the grave, the supply of hearses and coffins, the exterior drapery of the houses of the defunct, the carriages, as well as the implements and men necessary for interments or disinterments and cremations, belongs now to the municipalities under the head of public service." (Article 2.) "The vestries and consistories will have the exclusive right of furnishing whatever is destined for the religious service of funerals only *inside* the churches, and the interior and exterior decoration of such edifices." (Article 3.) "Whatever is not expressly conceded to the municipali-

ties by these articles 2 and 3 is left to individuals, and in accordance with the declarations made in the Senate the Consistories may leave to the preference of families the mortuary chapels in the houses of the defunct, and the drapery of the coffins." (Official Journal, June 22, 1904.)

"This new state of things," writes M. Lods, "upsets completely the finances of the Official Councils of the Lutheran Church of Paris. Each year its revenue from funerals reached the sum of about 28,000 francs, which, as soon as the law is in operation, will be cut down to 8,000 at the very highest computation."

"Besides this diminution resulting from the law of December 28, 1904," he continues, "our vestries lost, by the law of Separation of Church and State as voted by the Chambers, all properties granted by the State; namely, those intended by the decrees of the 7th Thermidor an. XI, 25th Frimaire an. XII, and of the 15th Ventose and 25th Messidore an. XIII, May 30, 1806; May 17 and November 28, 1809; and June 1, 1812."

"It is a veritable confiscation, as M. Auffray has shown;" and as M. Lods remarks, "the Reporter of the Law had nothing to answer to his *decisive argumentation*."

The claim is not exactly correct, for no Governmental act ever granted properties to Protestant Consistories, and consequently they will not suffer on that score. But they are nevertheless alarmed at the difficulties which their exchequer will be compelled to face. It will be remembered that M. Gide was very pessimistic on that topic as far back as 1903. Prompted by recent occurrences, he has resumed his pen, and his contributions on that subject cannot be dismissed lightly. Here is what he thinks of the new tax—the ecclesiastical tax—which is going to be imposed on his coreligionists.

In accordance with previous provisions for the Protestant cult the budget would be as follows:

Persons of the Protestant denominations	1,317,000 francs
Indemnities and aids to the two Protestant Churches	188,000
Expenses of Protestant seminaries.....	26,000
Aid for buildings.....	51,000
	<hr/>
	1,582,000 francs

Taking into account indemnities for lodgement of pastors, and the expenses occasioned by the faculties of theology, M. Gide estimates the amount that Protestants ought to receive from the State at 1,840,000 francs.

To that he adds:

Carried over	1,840,000 francs
Supplementary expenses	920,000
Expenses of the Permanent Synodal Committee	100,000
Expenses of the Central Society of Evangelization	500,000
Expenses of the Protestant Society of the Colonies	70,000
Expenses of the Society of the Missions.	400,000
	<hr/>

Total3,830,000 francs

Of the budget of nearly four millions, M. Gide does not see any part on which there is an opportunity to economize. "Of course here and there some useless posts might be suppressed, but the salary of some pastors will have to be raised, because, if the Church were to give the mean allowance that the State has been giving, it would be regarded almost as indecent.

To meet this outlay, the Consistories, according to the

law, will have five sources of revenue. First, the revenue of property acquired since the Concordat; second, assessments and collections; third, returns for religious services and funerals; fourth, the rental of seats; fifth, foundations for ceremonies and religious services.

Among Protestants there are no foundations, nor rental of seats, nor any compensation for religious services. There remain, therefore, only the first two; and as there is no great hope to be laid on the first, it is only by assessments that the four millions can be made up.

Now as there are only 650,000 Protestants in France, a budget of 4,000,000 francs represents in round numbers six francs per head. But there are the poor and the indifferent; and in equity the contributions must be a tax on incomes proportionate to the wealth of each individual, and for each church proportionate to the aggregate wealth of the members.

Unfortunately the property statistics furnish insufficient data for guidance. At a rough guess it would be three-fifths of the wealth of the Protestants of England; that is to say, 25 or 27 milliards.

"In admitting that the average income of the French Protestant population would be the same as that of the entire population, we should have for the 650,000 Protestants of France a lump sum of 450,000,000 francs. It would suffice, therefore, were each one taxed one per cent. of his revenue in order to provide four millions and a half, which would be more than enough. For the one who has an income of 10,000 francs it would be one hundred francs; for another with 5,000, fifty francs; for the workingman and the peasant who gains 1,200 francs, it would be twelve francs a month; that is to say, a little less than he gives to a mutual benefit society to which he belongs. These figures suffice to show that the expenses

resulting from the separation are not beyond the strength of the French Reformed Church."

The conclusion of M. Gide is quite the opposite of the one he drew two years ago. Heaven grant he may be right this time!

Very probably for Protestants, as for Catholics, it is the little country parishes which will suffer, and they will have to be helped from Paris and elsewhere. In any case, M. Gide may well say: "The essential question is what is the proportion which each one thinks he is conscientiously bound to impose on himself." That, of course, depends on the liveliness of his faith and the Christian generosity of his heart.

This year, as previously, the Society of Protestant Missions acknowledged a deficit. On several occasions despairing appeals were made. On April 5 M. Gustave Meyer wrote: "Last month there was a falling off of nearly 400,000 francs. Last week 257,000 were lacking; now the deficit is down to 154,000. The impetus is given. It is the accumulation of small gifts which has saved and will save this great work."

This experience can be repeated, but it has to be kept up till the habit is formed of considering this self-imposed tax for religion as most sacred. In the United States such is the custom, and negligence or forgetfulness to contribute has to be continually met in various ways; but the custom is admitted and everyone pays. It will be hard to do so in France, for various reasons; but now that the old sources of revenue are dried up, no other way is open.

PAUL DUDON,
Etudes.



The Protestants of France



II

III. THEIR YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS.

THE marvelous development of the *Jeunesse Catholique* and *le Sillon* should not let us forget to consider how, side by side with them, the Young Men's Christian Associations, which have been formed by Protestantism, have also grown. Since the days of the last Universal Exposition, which are already remote, we have never spoken of this powerful organization. But the Congress held by these Associations this very year affords us an excellent occasion to direct the attention of all those who are interested in the future of France to the study of their remarkable growth.

The reunion of last April was very important. It was the fiftieth celebration of these associations. There were 700 official delegates and 300 unofficial representatives, who had come to Paris from the four quarters of the globe. There were receptions at the houses of ambassadors, garden parties in the establishments of hospitable baronesses, a grand feast at the Trocadero, a service of the Last Supper at the temple of the Oratory, and sessions for the discussion of various topics at the Galleries of Charity, where the Congress was held. By an autograph letter, the President of the Republic excused himself, as he did in 1902, for not being able to receive personally the representatives of these associations. All Protestant Paris showed its eagerness to assure these general assemblies of its sympathy and its approval. But, more than the brilliant external display, the interior

working of this association must interest us. We desire to say something about it.

At the very first meeting, his Royal Highness, Prince Oscar Bernadotte, who was present, made this declaration: "At this moment, when the Federation of the Young Men's Christian Associations commemorates at Paris, its birthplace, the fiftieth year of its foundation, we, the authorized representatives of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the world, wish first to offer our thanksgiving to Almighty God, who has deigned, during these fifty years, to crown with His blessings the work which he has confided to us."

Then, going back to the fundamental principle which, since its origin, was the bond of these Christian Associations, the Prince claimed that the Statute of Paris, adopted in 1855, must always remain the binding charter for every union admitted in federation.

The Young Men's Association have for their object "to unite in one association those young men who regard Jesus Christ as their Savior and their God according to the Holy Scripture, who wish to be His disciples in their faith and in their lives, and who desire to work together to extend among men the kingdom of their Master." We have in that a very categorical affirmation. But do the young Protestants, who come from Prussia and Hungary, from Switzerland and Holland, from Russia and Japan, from Italy and Spain, from Finland and Sweden, from the Indies and America, from Madagascar and the Ivory Coast, understand in the same way the divinity of Jesus Christ and the salvation of human souls by Jesus Christ? For one who knows how Protestant doctrine has been torn to pieces there arises a serious doubt, and one cannot help seeing, at the bottom of it all, the divergencies of views which were manifested in the discussion of these two questions,

which especially occupied the attention of the Congress.

The question was asked: "What ought to be the attitude and the duties of the Associations in their dealings with the different churches?" Secondly: "Does the work of the Associations in their present form, and with the methods they employ, correspond to the needs of the young men of our day?"

The first problem was discussed by a German and an American, and the second by a Frenchman. Not having under our eyes the text of the reports nor that of the proceedings, it is difficult to give an exact idea of them. But, from the very nearly correct account furnished by the daily press and the reviews, we can detect two great currents which carry the minds of these young men in different directions.

There is, first, the rationalist and lay current. Those who move in that direction desire that the Associations should open the door wider to young men, no matter whence they come, even when they are not connected with any special church. To some of them, even, it would not be distasteful if ministers were completely excluded from these associations. Christ, they say, left Christians after Him, but He did not found churches. Churches can disappear, Christians will remain. Others, on the contrary, think, and they are believers with a more defined faith and more friendly to an ecclesiastical guidance, that the influence of ministers is indispensable to these young men's associations. Without that, their activity will run the risk of going astray and stopping altogether. Experience has shown that many of these associations have been created by the initiative of clergymen, and whatever may be the advantages which may result from grouping together an imposing throng of young men, coming from every section of the religious world, yet if the desire is to accomplish a work that is

truly evangelical, it is indispensable that at least the direction of these associations should remain in the hands of a committee which is sincerely and profoundly religious.

This is a very brief summary of their opinions in this matter. Such as it is, however, we have deemed it advisable to record it. Everyone who is engaged in Young Men's Associations will not fail to recognize its importance.

With regard to the problem of the aspirations of contemporaneous youth, the report of M. Edouard de Billy attracted especial attention. He directed their consideration to three phenomena of the movement of minds in our days. Namely, "the democratic evolution of the political systems; the penetration of modern science and its methods in almost every domain; finally, the conception, which is growing every day more definite, of a moral ideal which corresponds to the strenuous life of our days." And, under these three heads, he inquired if the Associations correspond to actual tendencies, and what progress they would have to make to attain to that end. One perceives that in this examination the orator was led to express his thought on the position which the religious question ought to have in the examination of the character of these associations. "Thus, young men whose intelligence we desire to develop have a right to know why they can place their confidence in the Bible such as it has come down to us, and also in the testimony of the Apostles. To leave them in the dark about the discussions which are going on with regard to these matters is very ill-advised, not to say more. Our duty is to arm them against all the doubts and all the denials which they will hear outside. Therefore, religious criticism should have its place in Young Men's Associations, provided it is taught with the respect due to every science,

and in such a way that they are made to comprehend its methods, that they are shown the certainty of the conclusions, that they are initiated into the points which are controverted, and, above all,—provided that, after having answered, as far as possible, those questions about which every man is now on the alert,—these young men are directed towards what is most essential, namely, the development of their life.”

This position did not meet with universal approval. It was found to be too hazardous. The scrutiny of one's soul by the examination of conscience and the correction of vicious tendencies—that is important, but this other criticism or higher criticism should have no place in these associations. It would be necessary to resort to theological speculation and historical erudition, whose true place is the university and the university alone. No doubt it is regrettable that, for lack of finding in these associations what they come to seek, young men will direct their steps elsewhere, and it is also undeniable that associations which are not constantly being renewed are condemned to perish by exhaustion and by what may be called arterio-sclerosis, but, on the other hand, one must not deceive himself in the matter of transformations which are to be permitted. The Statute of Paris should not be sacrificed. We must be as broad as the Bible, but at the same time as solid.

It is possible for us to recognize in this sketch of the discussion aroused by M. de Billy, the orthodox and the liberal current, contrary impulses that divide and trouble the Protestantism of every country and of every time. Those who follow, with an attentive eye, the movements which are carrying forward the élite of the young Catholics of France will not fail, in reading these pages, to make their comparisons.

IV.—THEIR VIEWS ABOUT SOCIALISM.

It is not alone the members of parliament who are facing the perils of a coming election who concern themselves about social questions. We have also, along with some generous Utopians and some theorists in the Chambers, multitudes of honest people who are troubled about these same questions. Among them the convinced believers are necessarily in the majority, but no philanthropy, either natural or acquired, can ever change human egoism into altruism as effectively as can be done by Catholicity. Catholics have their teachers and their reviews, their congresses and their associations intended to ameliorate the condition of the workingmen. So too have the Protestants.

Since 1887, every year or every two years, they meet for practical studies of these social questions. Their last congress was held at Nantes in June, 1904. It is not too late to say a few words about it here, as the next meeting will be held only in 1906. The association counts 725 members, namely, 437 ministers and 288 lay people, of whom 68 are ladies. Those who are very fervent find that this is a small number for the 700,000 Protestants of France, and they complain that the 725 who are enrolled are not active members, but include many honest people who accidentally came to the Congress, put down their names and that is all. They never come to any meeting, never read the current bulletins, and forget to pay their dues.

Is not that the history of all associations? Does not everyone know that only a small number keeps marching along and never tires, while the main body drags far behind in spite of the pace set by the indefatigable advance guard?

At the Congress in Nantes they spoke of the marvelous results of co-operation in England, they pleaded for solidarity, they dilated upon the wrongs of masters and servants and they dwelt upon strikes and their remedies. All that is of absorbing interest, but I am not going to insist upon it here, for I am not writing as an economist. I merely make a note of a remarkable report by Mr. Kuntz on "Examination of the Principles which Ought to Guide Us in the Study of Social Questions."

The ideas of the speaker and the discussion which they aroused will offer us an opportunity to understand the sentiments of the Congress. The Protestant association which we are now considering makes an appeal without distinction of opinion, to all "Protestant men and women who, in the face of the suffering and the dangers of modern society, comprehend their responsibilities and their duties and who are resolved to propagate in the organization of the society, as well as in the life of individuals, the application of the principles of justice and love proclaimed by Jesus Christ." Such are the terms of the statutes, and it is to justify them that Mr. Kuntz delivered his energetic plea.

Putting in opposition Christian and Collectivist morality, he showed how the first provided for the social good in insisting upon the worth of the individual, while the second considers the individual only as a cog in a wheel or as a cell in an organism and ends fatally in the socialism of the individual. The other, recognizing God as the Sovereign Legislator and Supreme Judge of conscience, gives to duty the reason for its existence and its fixity of purpose. One, while demanding from reason and science the revelation of the moral code, condemns itself never to know any sure and tangible line of conduct. The orator then quotes the eloquent apostrophe of Vinet to the Socialists:

"Have the courage, then, to go further, say that it is the people who have made the moral law, say that the people are the source of that law, that the truth resides in them or rather that at every moment they blot it out and mutilate it and take another direction. Say that there is in all this no question of truth but of number, not of justice but of strength, not of rational solution but of convenient expedient; say that we must finish with this matter, and that the throne of truth having become vacant, the people in a majority must occupy the place."

Now let us look at the quotation of Mr. Kuntz:

"Materialists, pantheists, positivists, utilitarians, psychologists are lacking in logic if they set aside what is known as integral Socialism. And, on the other hand, spiritualists, and especially Christians, offer proof of the corresponding inconsistency if they describe themselves as Socialists. The solutions which they give of social questions, especially in the matter of property, are intimately connected with the conceptions which they have with regard to the government of the universe and the nature of land."

The advance guard among Protestants who have adopted the name of Christian Socialists must regard as fanciful the absolute opposition proclaimed by Mr. Kuntz between Christianity and Socialism.

The minister Élie Gonnelle of Roubaix replied to Mr. Kuntz:

"We are Socialists because we believe that society needs to be renovated, so that every child of God may have the opportunity to develop. In Holland eighty per cent. of the ministers are Socialists. Moreover, it has not been shown that there is any contradiction between the principles of Christianity and the principles of Socialism. Socialism is not a solid block. The profound

underlying motive power of Socialism is the aspiration towards liberty, and the great obstacle in the way is the property of the capitalists."

M. Gide and M. Raoul Allier, without altogether adopting the views of M. Gonnelle, declared that they differed with Mr. Kuntz: This controversy did not fail to recall the one which, a short time ago, brought M. George Renard and M. Brunetière in opposition as to whether a Catholic could be a Socialist. For Mr. Kuntz the answer is clear:

"Catholicity and Collectivism," he says, "are both religions of authority which have only a platonic respect for individual liberty. For both, the individual is nothing outside of the religious and social environment. From it he draws his opinions ready made and such as admit of no discussion."

In opposition to the distinguished Advocate-General of Bourges, we are of the opinion that Catholicity and Christianity are one and the same thing. According to us, M. de Mun explained the truth and the logic of our religion when, in his celebrated discourse, he protested that his faith prevented him from being a collectivist. In effect, the starting and the objective point of the two doctrines have nothing in common. But, with this reservation, the position of Mr. Kuntz cannot be assailed.

We can say, and we ought to say, that the current of true Socialism flowed obscurely and by secret channels in many directions from the very fountain-heads of the Gospel. But, while such an origin is denied by the Socialists, on the other hand, it is absolutely certain that those streams which have flowed from Calvary have, by Socialistic influence, been contaminated by a thousand impurities which pollute and corrupt them.

We, as disciples of Christ, profess doctrines which the Socialists hold in horror, and we do not pronounce with

the same accent nor for the same motives those formulas which are common to both Christians and Socialists.

What interest, moreover, can there be for us to wear the badge of a Socialist? Never can we be and never can we be regarded as of their party. By desiring to appear to be such in spite of all that, we run the risk of being taken for simpletons or tricksters. Jesus Christ has indeed told us to be as simple as doves and as prudent as serpents. But simplicity is not silliness nor prudence trickery.

In their ardent desire to influence their contemporaries, there are some ambitious spirits who cannot refrain from crying out to the passing crowd "We are one with you!" The exclamation does not correspond to the intention that dictates it. More than they fancy, there is mingled with it a morbid desire for popularity and the silly weakness of wishing to be like everybody else. When St. Paul made himself all in all, he abdicated nothing of his personality. He was an apostle and not a candidate for election.

V. LAY RELIGION.

IN the sessions of the 4th of April last at the Palais-Bourbon, M. Reveillaud, while leisurely discussing the corruption introduced, in the course of ages, into the religion of Christ, was interrupted by M. Guilleaumeaux, who exclaimed, "One would fancy we were listening to a sermon." With his usual facility, the orator answered the interruption, and declared that he would not be ashamed to be a minister, but that in reality he was not one. "Nevertheless," he said, "I think it is due to the truth to declare that I am a simple layman. I am, if you wish, a sincere Protestant, who does not fear to affirm his faith, but I am so far from being anything sacerdotal that I cherish the hope, and I am sure it will

be fulfilled in the near future, after the separation which we are about to make, the hope, namely, that the churches will no longer be guided by a clergy. There is no reason why the preacher of the Gospel should have the distinction of being consecrated. Not only were the Apostles, those fishermen of the lake, and Paul, the weaver and tent-maker, laymen, but Christ Himself was a layman, for He belonged to the tribe of Benjamin and not to the sacerdotal tribe of Levi."

Professional biblicists will find the reason alleged by M. Reveillaud to prove that Christ was not a priest, rather trivial, but, in order to overwhelm the lay ignorance of this deputy who affirms his belief, they will heap up a mountain of Scriptural texts. I leave that task to them and desire to discuss here only the idea of M. Reveillaud, that the Christian church can exist without a clergy.

Pastor Wagner has consecrated an entire discourse to that theme, and we desire to underscore some of his expressions.

This pastor is very well known in Paris and abroad. He writes and talks a great deal. On the last page of the discourse which I am now about to consider, his editor had the kindness to append an analytic notice on the works of Charles Wagner, for sale at the publishing house of Fischbacher. We find that Mr. Wagner has written "Histories and Fancies," which is "a collection of narrations to amuse children and make them think." "Be a Man" is a sort of lay catechism for children from ten to fourteen years of age. "Courage" is a *vademecum* of youth. "At the Hearth" is designed to put in the hands of newly-married couples. "The Friend" is a book for the bedside and for recollection. "The Gospel and Life" is a collection of religious discourses. "The Simple Life" offers a tranquil reading which

Mr. Roosevelt, the President of the United States, has in public discourses twice recommended to his fellow citizens.

For those of our readers to whom we must introduce him, it is manifest that Mr. Wagner is a man of experience, an inquiring mind and a litterateur who is read even in America.

Here is how he understands the place which, in the domain of religion, is occupied by what may be called primitive, or, in other words, lay religion:

"Human knowledge was begun in the mind and was the result of the work of a certain number of individuals who had no special qualifications for the task. Science was, at the outset, lay, and lacking in precision. Little by little it began to be catalogued, specialized and systematized, the mind being driven to do so by a natural law for the purpose of acquiring more order and more clearness. After a period more or less prolonged a scientific tradition was established, which now has its institutions and its officials, charged with watching over the deposit of experience and maintaining the ideas acquired. But, as soon as this degree of organization was reached, we discover that science soon degenerated into mere officialdom."

The same observation may be made of the world of sentiment.

"In the beginning, when sentiments are very correct, we remark in them a certain number of expressions and also a certain number of manifestations which are as personal and sincere as the sentiments themselves. Little by little these sentiments, merely by the force of repetition, enter into the conventional period."

In religion we have again exactly the same thing.

"On the mountain of Moriah there was at first only an altar of rude stones. The Law in the beginning was not written. The worship of Abraham, with its shapeless

altar, was little by little enriched and surrounded with a grandeur and magnificence. The Law was written on tablets of stone and venerated as a Divinity. Doctrines, like jewel cases, were made to hold with care the pearls and precious stones of religious sentiments. A particular class of men was designated in the tribe of Levi to watch over the sanctuary, to teach, and to preside over the Sacrifices."

The whole principle of this is that a lay element is the primitive element in religion. Only inattentive observers, who are deceived by heraldic devices and the fictitious majesty of dogmas imagine that Christianity is an exception to this law.

"Christ is a layman, a man of the people, who had nothing to do with the priestly caste and did not employ its methods. He preached his doctrine, but without any official authorization, and it was an ecclesiastical scandal in the eyes of the religious officials to resort to this confused and perfectly anarchistic manner to organize the kingdom of God with fishermen taken from the shores of the lake and mending their nets, and who had never sat at the feet of the great masters of that epoch." Moreover, the religion of Christ is a lay religion also. "The Sacraments which Christ established are only the transposition into the spiritual world of the ordinary acts of life. He gives to God a name which is lacking in all world lustre. It was taken from the lips of nurses, seated beside the cradles which they were rocking. The Crib of Bethlehem, the workshop of Nazareth, the Cross of Calvary are all lay things sculptured in the rock of human life, intended to be a compound of apparent misery and of an invincible Creator, of the slime of the earth and of the breath of God." "Now, if a religion," he continues, "however old and beautiful, and however meritorious, does not renew itself in returning to its beginnings, it dies of for-

malism—that is the story of the old nobility, that is the story of the fabled Antaeus. In the same way, the plants of the earth must renew themselves each year in order to put forth their blossoms. So too for religions. If they do not do so their dogmas are only books of dried plants.”

“A common incident in an old organism is for them to undergo deep functional movements. They have in themselves harmful substances and reject vivifying food. It is the fatal malady of religions and it is thus they become vast graveyards, compromising the health of the cities near which they are. What is then the duty of the true believer. He must laicise his religion, that is to say, he must make his faith living and actual; an affair of everyday life. He must bring it out of the old jewel box, which people fear to touch because it is so venerable, and put it in circulation in his daily life. The duty of each generation is to mix its own dough and to cook its own bread. It is only thus its food transforms itself into life-giving blood. Bishops and theologians, like the simple faithful, are subject to the same law. The purest and the best and the most valuable of their religious treasures are simply primitive elements which they have gathered together and which take new life when they are brought into contact with the reality of things. These elements are the capital in bank of which dogmas, rituals, the intellectual apparatus and ceremonial or worship, represent only paper money.”

These numerous and long quotations will, we think, reveal to those who do not know Mr. Wagner, his oratorical style and the character of his scientific demonstrations. If, among his hearers, there was anyone able to make a free and searching examination we should conclude that, after having looked through the pile of comparisons and the play of his metaphors, which brighten up while they confuse his utterances, their eyes, fatigued

at seeing nothing, would soon close, and their mind would be overwhelmed and perplexed. Who does not know that the religion of Jesus Christ is a living religion? He Himself has said that He was the Life and that He came in order that His disciples might have more of it than other men, and the history of the Catholic Church at the opening of this, the twentieth century, shows to all eyes that can see how the Gospel is not a dead letter. In the midst of the throng of the faithful whose egotism has not robbed them of the life received from God, there are vast numbers who love God and their neighbor more than themselves. They are living an immortal life. To reduce the whole of Christian morality to love only what is human, and the whole Christian belief to receive from Jesus Christ that commandment alone, and to endeavor to make the whole of Christianity communicate in sympathy with those who have a religious sentiment, that is not laicizing Christ and the Gospel; it is simply obliterating both. However, the Reformation had to end in that.

Moreover, this universal religion which Mr. Wagner preaches is the negation even of natural religion, for, after all, natural religion cannot consist in sentiment alone, no more than it can continue to educate without a teacher. Our human nature and the history of humanity show that with sufficient clearness.

The faults of priesthoods and the infusion of formalism in creeds are not sufficient to prove either that formulas are useless or that priests are usurpers. Difficulties must arise from the very conditions of liberty in which it has pleased God to place man and even religion itself. However great may be the abuses which arise, there are always advantages sufficiently striking to enable us to say with absolute certainty that it was the purpose of God that there should be in His kingdom here below an authority which is sovereign in teaching, and which sanctifies and rules in the name of Heaven.

If the ministers of the Gospel reject *a priori* this conclusion why do they still preserve their ministerial attire? Why do they decide on the attitude which the Church must preserve in the present crisis? Why do they demand an assembly to determine what confession of faith will take the place of the one of 1872, and why, finally, do they regret that the greater part of their ministerial assistants do not occupy themselves, as they ought, with the spiritual care of souls? At least those men do not laicize religion, and although Mr. Wagner may call them his brothers in Christ, he will look down upon them with the same contempt with which he regards Catholic priests. There is where he is wrong.

"There was a man sent from God"—such is the expression which in every epoch declares the ordinary and extraordinary action of God on souls of men. Priests and prophets whose word must renew the face of the world come from Him. Their glorious mission draws them from the general throng without, however, making them the adversaries of the ordinary priesthood. That priesthood also is from God. It may not perceive the high purpose of its vocation, nevertheless God does not change His purpose and wish no longer to make use of it. But, as in all wise governments, He has in hours of peril His extraordinary ambassadors. To them His Providence assigns the duty of bringing back to their duty the ordinary ministers of the divine will. The office of both priest and prophet are in harmony and not in contradiction. To doubt it is not to read history aright. For that reason we must fling aside the formula of Mr. Wagner and declare that religion cannot be a lay religion. If it is it would be no religion at all.

PAUL DUDON,
Etudes.

A Single Catechism

Its Advantages and Disadvantages



As is known, the Fathers of the Vatican Council discussed at length (*Cong-Gen.* 24-29 and 47-50) the question of introducing into the Church a small catechism that should exclude all others and be accepted as a basis for the religious instruction of youth in all the Catholic world.

The great majority of Bishops were in favor of this scheme. Few, in proportion, were those opposed to it. The proposers of the scheme pointed out the manifest advantages to be derived from a good universal catechism; some even thought it an indispensable necessity under present-day conditions. Its opponents insisted upon the difficulty of preparing a universal catechism which should be really good. After ample discussion in the 49th general congregation, 535 Bishops voted for the introduction, and only 56 against it. If the Council had not been suspended immediately after, we should probably have had such a catechism, as nothing was then needed but the last solemn vote, concerning which, in view of the preceding facts, there can be no doubt.

This desire for the greatest possible unity in the religious instruction of the Catholic people, and especially of its youth, repeatedly manifested itself during many centuries in the past. On this account the Fathers of the Council of Trent had asked the Holy See: *ut certam aliquam formulam et rationem traderet christiani*

populi ab ipsis fidei rudimentis instituendi, quam in omnibus Ecclesiis illi sequerentur quibus legitimi pastoris et doctoris munus obeundum esset(1). In conformity with this vote not only did Pius V cause the publication of the *Catechismus ad Parochos*, but Clement VIII also gave orders to the venerable Cardinal Bellarmine to compile a catechism for children, and prescribed its exclusive use in all the dominions of the Pontifical State, urgently recommending it, moreover, to all the other Bishops in the world(2), which prescription and recommendation was renewed by Benedict XIV(3) as regards the importance of a single catechism. His successor, Clement XIII, returned to the argument, lamenting that from the diversity of catechisms two evils resulted: *Alterum quod illa fuerit in eadem docendi ratione prope sublata consensio oblatumque pusillis quoddam scandali genus, qui sibi iam non amplius esse viderentur in terra labii unius et sermonum eorundem; alterum, quod ex diversis variisque tradendae catholicae veritatis rationibus ortæ sint contentiones, etc.*(4). Pius IX renewed the recommendation in a letter to the Austrian Episcopate(5). In conformity with these Pontifical exhortations certain provincial councils have issued ordinances of the same nature(6).

At present, according to trustworthy information, we have reason to hope that Our Holy Father now gloriously reigning, Pius X, will deign to listen to the desire

(1) Catech. Rom. in præc. n. VII Conc. Trid. Sess. XXIV c 7 de reform.

(2) Breve. Pastoralis 15 July, 1598.

(3) Const. Etsi minime 7 February, 1742.

(4) Const. In dominico agro Jan. 14, 1761.

(5) Lit. Apost., 5 Nov., 1855.

(6) Cf Conc. Vienn. 1858 tit VI. c 9. Prag., 1860 tit II c 6; Colon. 1863, tit VI c. 5. Baltimore, 1884 tit VII c 2.

which for so long a period has been shown in the Church. It will not be without interest, however, to put into clear opposition the advantages of a universal catechism, with the difficulties in the way of securing it, and the possibility of overcoming them.

I.

ADVANTAGES OF A UNIVERSAL CATECHISM.

The principal reason which makes it urgently desirable to secure a single catechism in the whole Church is the fluctuation of the population. Through the ease and rapidity of traveling, all the world seems to-day to have become one city, as the Bishop of Savannah aptly observed at the Vatican Council. Therefore, a common catechism is almost a necessity. "Especially among us in America," he said, "there is a continuous influx of people from all the nations of the earth, who, when we examine them concerning religion and the most important questions in the catechism, reply that at home things are explained differently." The Bishop of Carcassone added: "It frequently happens that a child, even before his first confession, has passed through two or three dioceses and has been obliged to study several catechisms. But if he has studied two or three I fear that he knows none of them."

In fact the migration⁽¹⁾, not merely of individuals, but of entire families to other dioceses, countries, and parts of the world is so frequent that innumerable children must suffer the gravest damage to their religious

(1) More than one hundred millions of Europeans live at present outside of Europe. The Italians, especially, are found by thousands upon thousands in Switzerland, in France, in Germany, in North and South America and elsewhere. Emigration, moreover, is ever on the increase.

instruction, since with their change of domicile they are also obliged to change their catechism. Especially in the industrial regions, the majority of the population suffers an entire change in every four or five years. What an immense advantage for religious instruction would a common catechism prove!

The present difference in catechisms engenders not only confusion in learning them, but, moreover, *doubt as to the truth* of Catholic doctrine. Educated people know very well that a doctrine remains the same, even though it be propounded in different words; not so children and the uneducated. Hence, for this reason also, a single catechism is urgently to be desired. And the unity so secured, opposed to the divisions of the Protestants, would constitute a powerful aid in persuading unbelievers of the superior excellence of the Catholic faith over the Protestant sects.

The missionary Bishops in the Vatican Council gave great weight to this argument, because in nearly all pagan countries the obstacle of Protestantism raises not a few difficulties for Catholic missionaries.

Another great advantage of a common catechism would be its *stability*. So long as every Bishop is at liberty to alter his catechism according to his own judgment, the variations will not be few even within the limits of a single parish. It is true that there would be great difficulty in compiling a catechism which would be satisfactory under every aspect, if only that the opinions as to what constitutes a good catechism, almost equal in number the catechists who must prepare it, and the authorities who must be consulted in the matter. That is why every new Bishop, especially in countries where the priests themselves teach the catechism, finds himself solicited from one side or another to change the cate-

chism already in use. The greater the importance he attaches to the matter, the more he will be inclined to listen to these appeals. We know a goodly number of dioceses where in two decades of years the catechism was changed three times.

From this frequency of change there is no doubt that great harm results. The simple people easily come to believe that, with the book, their doctrine also is changed. And how can parents examine their children in the catechism (which good parents are always willing to do) if their children are obliged to learn a different text from that which was learned by their own parents? With frequent changes in the catechism it results that the catechists themselves do not retain the text in their memory, though they exact this knowledge from their pupils. With the introduction of a universal catechism such changes would be rare enough.

4. With a universal catechism prescribed by the Holy See, one could provide better for the *unity and purity of doctrine*. It is, in fact, not impossible that erroneous doctrines might be contained in a catechism approved by a Bishop. Indeed, at the Vatican Council concrete examples have been given of errors of this sort, and we ourselves could augment the number. We know catechisms in which it is taught that all non-Catholics, without exception, are damned; that with venial sin sanctifying grace is diminished; that the Church is a *union*, to which belong all who have been baptized and hold the true faith in their hearts; that in confession all sins must be confessed, not only with regard to species and number, but also with regard to *aggravating circumstances*. Now such errors would not be possible in a catechism published by the Holy See.

5. A catechism presenting itself as the official book of

instructions for all the Church would possess *a much greater authority* with believers than a simple diocesan catechism—a matter which in these sceptical times would be of no small value. Thus, if all Catholic Christians, from their earliest youth, had implanted in their minds pure doctrine in a clear and determinate form, certain errors which otherwise might spring up would be effectively guarded against. Finally, no professor of theology would dare offhand to put forward any thesis in contradiction to the universal catechism, and therefore to the faith of the whole Church. Even the temporal governments which still arrogate to themselves in some countries the right of inspecting the Catholic Catechism and the methods of teaching it, would be careful to raise no opposition to a catechism published by the Holy See and used all over the world.

6. One signal advantage of a universal catechism, moreover, would be that of making *universally applicable the subsidiary means for the explanation of the same*. In certain quarters, especially in Germany, there has been developed since the XVIII century an extraordinary zeal in seeking the means and the methods whereby most easily and most faithfully to impart scholastic information in general, and religious instruction in particular. Many extremely useful writings of this sort have been published, but inasmuch as they mostly referred to some special text, they were not readily adaptable to all the others. With a single catechism this difficulty would disappear, and the most eminent catechists would be enabled to offer more perfect explanations of the same, to the immense advantage of all Christendom.

7. Another advantage, not yet pointed out, would be this: the universal catechism would offer a secure founda-

tion for all Catholic literature in process of making. The most divergent pious writings would be based upon the ideas and the expressions of the single catechism, and would thus contribute more and more to clarify religious knowledge and to impress it more deeply upon the people; whereas in the present diversity of thought and expression an uncultivated person remains often confused rather than illuminated.

8. What has been said about books of piety for Christian people applies equally well to *the manuals of religion for the higher schools*. A good universal catechism would be best suited as the basis for these also. Hence would result the necessary unity, clearness and certainty, so lacking to-day, in the religious knowledge of our students.

9. If all the Catholics in the world, from early childhood, were to receive from the common father a book which in their journey through the dark valley of earth would point them the way to heaven, it would naturally disseminate among the faithful a *special veneration and a filial attachment to the Holy See*, as well as a *stronger and more intimate feeling of union*. Cardinal Donnet of Bordeaux reminded the Vatican Council of this fact.

10. Finally, many Bishops would be relieved of a very heavy burden, did they no longer need to occupy themselves in the composition of an individual catechism. Under present conditions there are not a few dioceses where the question of the catechism has been continually under discussion for more than twenty-five years and has become the subject of many consultations and contests without any solution having ever been reached. All this would end with the introduction of a good universal catechism.

Here this thought may possibly arise in the mind of the reader:

But what would happen if, once the universal catechism had been introduced, it should prove not to be a good one? The harm done would then be general and very difficult of remedy.

To which we answer: The wisdom of the Holy See, which in a matter of such importance will spare no effort to get as perfect a catechism as possible, and in this aim is sure of celestial aid, renders such a fear superfluous. In fact, this very fear was suggested by Cardinal Rauscher and other Fathers of the Council; but the majority were of another opinion.

To come to a safe and certain decision upon the matter we will pass under examination the chief difficulties in the way.

II.

DIFFICULTIES OF A UNIVERSAL CATECHISM.

The reasons which might prompt the belief that a single catechism could not be adapted to all the various countries and nations are founded partly on the diversity of religious needs, partly on the difference in capacity of young people, and partly on the dissimilarity of languages. Under each of these three heads numerous difficulties arise which will have to be overcome in the composition of a universal catechism. Let us examine them separately.

1. The diversity of religious needs in the various countries is undoubtedly considerable. How great, for example, is the difference in culture between the Upper Congo and the lake of Tanganyika, on the one hand, and the dioceses of Paris, Milan, Cologne, Vienna, on the other! In the latter places it is evident that Christian

people need far more ample instructions in the doctrine of faith and morals than in the former. In one place an energetic fight is necessary against the dangers of idolatry and superstitious practices which elsewhere it is needless to refer to. In regions where Catholics live together with Protestants and other heretics, doctrinal differences must be treated much more fundamentally than in wholly Catholic countries. Further, every intelligent person is aware that among peoples of different origin, not only do usages and customs differ, but even dominant abuses and vices, all of which, however, must be taken into account in religious instruction. In some places it is necessary to treat of things which in others it is not even necessary to hint at.

2. The capacity of children, also, which must determine the extent of the instruction to be given, is certainly not the same everywhere. This depends not merely upon the natural aptitude of the children, but also upon the conditions of the school, as well as the ability and zeal of the catechist. Now all these factors vary in different places and countries. There are regions where children are generally slow and can barely grasp the essentials, whereas elsewhere the majority of the children are endowed with good, or at least fair, talents. In addition, the relative state of development offers great differences. An Italian child of seven understands without difficulty certain answers in the catechism which a German of ten is barely able to learn. In succeeding years, on the other hand, the German child yields very little to the Italian in facility of comprehension.

How great in addition is the diversity in the conditions of the schools! In Germany every child must for seven or eight years frequent school regularly, and has at least two hours a week of instruction in the catechism,

besides two lessons in the story of the Bible and one on the Gospel of the Sunday. Here, accordingly, it is evident that more can be done than in other places, where attendance on school is dependent upon the will of the parents or the whim of the scholars, and where the catechism is little taught and with only little pains.

No less great is the difference between catechists. Whereas in some countries religious instruction is imparted by priests of high theological and pedagogical training, in many others this most important branch of teaching is only too often confided to persons who are lacking in both alike.(1)

3. In the composition of a single catechism for Catholics all over the world due regard must be paid to the diversities of languages and to the difficulties that arise therefrom, difficulties much graver than might appear at first sight. Only he who understands the many conditions demanded for a really good catechism, and who has had experience in translating a catechism from one language to another, without losing sight of any of these conditions, is in a position to estimate these difficulties.

(1) There are places where the curate imagines he has fulfilled his duty when he announces from the altar on the preceding Sunday that on the following Friday will be heard the first confessions of children of a designated age, and that in the meantime the parents will attend to preparing them to receive this Sacrament (instead of himself preparing them for it!) Truly there is matter for bitter tears in thinking of the loss of so many souls which is occasioned by carelessness in the teaching of Christian doctrine. *Parvuli petierunt panem, et non erat qui frangeret eis* (Thren. 4, 4). This theme, it may be said, is embraced in the last encyclical of the Holy Father, which should be read, reread and meditated upon, and above all be put into practice.

The first springs from *incongruities of words and ideas*. An example will best explain our meaning. Neither French, nor German, nor English, nor Polish has a word which exactly renders the idea in the Italian *animo*; because in most of the other languages such an idea, in the last analysis of its meaning, does not exist. In the same way Italian, Spanish, French and English possess no word which adequately expresses in its more delicate shades the meaning of the German: *Gemut* (mind, soul, sentiment, inclination.) There are also meanings which in one language are expressed in sufficiently popular form and so can be adopted into the catechism, while they are not so in others, and cannot therefore be used in the catechism of such language. The word *essenza*, for example, is understood even by the Italian peasant, the corresponding German word *Wesen* or *Wesenheit* is only current among the educated.

A special difficulty arises from the fact that in one language two analogous meanings may be expressed in words formed from the same root, which are therefore reciprocally explanatory, while in another language this concord does not exist, and therefore a special explanation must be made with each word. In German, for example, the definition of the word *glauben* (to believe) carries with it the explanation of the substantive *Glaube* (belief), which is not the case in Italian, French and Spanish; where *credere* (*croire, creer*) seem to the child very different things from *la fede, la foi, la fé*.

Notable, also, is the difference in the phraseology of various languages and the frequency with which the most popular locutions refuse to be conveyed into another language, save by clumsy and unusual terms of speech. Now the catechism must necessarily confine itself to the most popular expressions.

Lastly, differences in construction frequently make it possible in a language to unite in one answer truths which in another must be divided into two. Thus, for example, the gerunds of verbs offer great advantages in Italian and in Spanish which do not exist for Germans, French, Danes and Swedes. And as in the composition of a catechism the choice of words, phrases and constructions is of so much importance—from that choice depending in large part the final unfolding of the entire exposition—it is clear that due regard for the diversity of languages would create serious difficulties in the composition of a good universal catechism.

Will it, nevertheless, be possible to surmount these difficulties, as well as the others which arise from the differences of religious needs and the difference in the capacity of children? We shall see when we examine each difficulty in order.

III.

THE WAYS MASTERING THESE DIFFICULTIES.

1. As we have seen, the principal difficulty resides in the *difference in religious needs*, which requires a greater or less amount of religious instruction, and a more or less elaborate treatment of this or that matter of faith, of this or that moral doctrine. But already the scheme of the Council has indicated the way to obviate this inconvenience. It expressly declares that the Bishops should be permitted, as hitherto, to add to the common text such special supplements as might be recognized to be necessary. At the same time it was announced that the text of the catechism should contain only those themes which the catechists afterwards were to expound more or less diffusely according to need. It must also be observed that, according to the orders

of Clement XIII, in their instructions on the catechism they were to touch simply upon those points which are in the necessary or the extremely useful parts. Now these, which comprise but a few things, are among all Christians substantially the same.

And, in truth, a comparison among the principal catechisms in use in the Catholic world shows a great harmony in the matters treated. *Three-fourths* of the text is identical in all, and the remaining quarter, save for a small residuum, might as well be identical. All of them must contain the twelve articles of the Apostles' creed, the seven petitions of the Pater Noster, together with the Ave Maria, the Commandments of God and the precepts of the Church, as well as the seven Sacraments, so that children may understand their meaning and know how to make right use of them during their lives. Then the catechism must confine itself to the most necessary explanations and leave to the catechist a more extensive field of comment.

As to the special errors and moral defects which call for comment in one country and not in another, these are, if one excepts pagan idolatry, very few. Through the facility of personal or written communication, as well as the propensity for travel and the activity of commerce and industry, the intellectual and moral currents are so directed throughout the whole world that the errors and sins of one country rapidly spread to others. If so early as the XVI century it could be affirmed of the errors of the reformers: *nulla tam remota regio, aut tam munitus locus, nullus christianae reipublicae angulus invenire potest, quo haec pestis occulte irrepere non tentarit* Cath. Conc. Trid. prooem. n.v); to-day it is still more widely true. The Catholic population is exposed to the attacks of Protestantism not only in Germany, France,

Switzerland, England, Denmark and Sweden, but also in Poland, Spain and Italy up to the very capital of Christianity, and in all the remote missions the apostles of Protestantism seek to draw into their nets the simple Catholics, or to prevent the heathen from entering into the Church. Consequently the struggle against these masters of error has become necessary everywhere. The Eastern Churches, through their spiritual inertia, are less dangerous, and every catechism offers in itself the necessary points of contact at which they may be attacked. Among moral defects also it is difficult to single out one—unless it be idolatry—which is not common, though in varying degrees, to all nations.

Therefore it is easy to understand how, as regards the subjects treated, there should at present be a great harmony in the majority of instances. If there existed in any country the necessity of inserting a point of doctrine, not contained in the universal catechism, there is nothing to prevent it, as has already been said. In fact, the Council of the Vatican has already foreseen the possibility that in some country, owing to special conditions, the universal catechism may not be applicable. In such case the Bishop may represent to the Holy See the reasons for obtaining a temporary dispensation from the use of the common catechism. But such a necessity could only rarely arise.

Under the following number, while discussing the diverse capacities of children and the difficulties thence resulting, we will explain also the means of providing, adequately enough, for the difference in needs, and yet leaving the integrity of the text intact.

2. *The capacities of children* in regard to natural gifts are not so diverse as some people think. Many believe that children of uncivilized races are far inferior

in aptitude and talent to those of the civilized. But the statements of many missionaries, from all parts of the world, assure us of the contrary. They praise the intelligence, the attention and the desire for learning exhibited by children whose parents are still in complete barbarism. And as in missionary countries religion is the principal subject of instruction, not a few sons of African barbarians are better acquainted with Christian truth than many children of France and Italy. More than one European traveler, who has visited Catholic schools in the countries of the Negro, the Kaffir and the Eskimo, has been astounded by the proofs given by children in matters the most diverse. If, therefore, it be possible to adopt the same catechism for all the children of one parish, notwithstanding the difference in their natural aptitudes, certainly it will be possible to adopt the same catechism for European and non-European children.

As concerns *the conditions of the school* and the *ability* and the *zeal* of the catechists, it cannot be denied that great differences actually exist, whence it follows that the state of religious education in some places is sufficiently consoling, while elsewhere it is sad and deplorable. But it cannot be legitimately concluded from this that where instruction is defective the contents of the catechism should be minimized. Nay, the contrary conclusion would be far juster—that the more defective the oral instruction, the more the book should contain in explanation of the text. On the other hand, the book must not offer too much, otherwise it would suffer in conciseness and clearness. Therefore diversities in childish capacity do not demand any notable difference in the contents of the catechism.

Nevertheless, the perfect identity of the text being

assured, there are two methods of providing means to mete out the matter taught in such relative quantities as are desirable.

First, by distinguishing with a sign (a + for example) the questions of major from those of minor importance; second, to explain or amplify, by means of brief additions in smaller characters, at opportune places, the sense of the answers. In such manner the same text could be adapted to children of different capacities; the more advanced might learn the entire text; when the conditions are less favorable the answers would be committed to memory, and the additions would be utilized by the teacher alone in explaining the text; under still more unfavorable conditions only the answers marked as most important would be committed to memory, and everything else would be used in explanation.

This method has been in use for many years among the best modern catechists, and has proved its excellence. The part not committed to memory is no useless encumbrance, but is of great assistance to both catechist and pupil. The catechist finds here ready to hand material for fuller explanation; the pupil finds mechanical aids to recall to his mind the explanation itself. Even for the adult faithful these additions may prove advantageous, because in case a doubt arises they can often find here sufficient information to resolve it, accustomed, as they usually are, to resort to the catechism when its contents are not too meagre.

3. Coming now to an examination of the difficulties which arise from diversity of languages, these consist, as we have seen, partly in incongruity of ideas, and in disparity of expression for the same idea, partly in difference of phraseology, and partly in the diversities of construction. One might think to triumph over all these

difficulties by simply insisting that any book can be faithfully translated into any language. But, in reality, the thing is not so easy as it appears. Certainly any catechism may be translated into any language, but it does not follow that every translation possesses the qualities it should possess. It is certainly no light task—indeed, in some cases, it is an impossible task—to render faithfully into another language a proposition that in itself is brief, clear, popular, simply constructed and harmonious, and in its choice of words accords well with what precedes and what follows, preserving at once the brevity, clearness and popularity of expression, the simplicity of construction, the rhythm of the language and the harmony of the words. Nevertheless, even this task will not be found too difficult when *certain conditions are observed in the composition of the original text.*

(a) The ideas adopted in the original text must be either *concrete* or *primary*, since incongruity in ideas will be found only in those which are at once abstract and derivative. Concrete ideas, which concern an object, whether it be bodily or spiritual, under any determinate point of view, are necessarily the same in all languages. Not only *priest, bishop, Pope*, but also *soul, angel, God, heaven, hell, purgatory*, are ideas which are entirely similar with Catholics of every race and of every language. Also the primary or original ideas, as to be, to go, to have, to take, etc., sufficiently correspond in all languages. Fortunately concrete and primary ideas are the very ones best adapted to the intelligence of children and the uneducated, and therefore the most appropriate for a catechism. If now it should happen that a language is called upon to express cognate ideas in words of different roots (*i.e., credere and fides, diligere and caritas*) it would be quite sufficient to intro-

duce a little addition in small type to instruct children upon the kinship of the ideas, and thus remove the apparent discord (e.g., *virtus illa qua credimus, fides vocatur*).

(b) What we have said concerning ideas applies also to phraseology. We must distinguish between primary and derivative phrases. *To go to hell* is a primary phrase, which contains no metaphor, metonymy or other rhetorical figure. As much cannot be said for the locution: *to be precipitated into the eternal abyss*. Now, although it may be true that even for primary phrases it may not always be possible to find a perfectly identical expression in another language, it is none the less certain that an equivalent exists. For example, in German one does not say *in die Hölle gehen*, but *zur Hölle fahren*. On the other hand, for derivative phrases there may often be lacking an equivalent locution in other languages. For this reason the original text of the universal catechism should avoid as much as possible all derivative phrases and limit itself to the primary, which for a child are infinitely more intelligible. On this basis translation, even in the matter of phraseology, is an easy task.

(c) Finally, to avoid the difficulties that spring from differences in *construction*, care must be taken not to put together *too many truths in a single question*, because it is frequently necessary in translation to render by an entire proposition what in the original is expressed by a single word. The result may readily be an involved construction not adapted to the childish mind. In case of necessity the translator might do well to divide a single question of the original into two. Nevertheless, it would be still better to prevent such a necessity in other ways. We do not by this mean to say that answers should be

reduced to a minimum, for this would condense them too much and make them less easy to memorize. Here also, as in all other things, it is reasonable to keep to a *rational mean*, whereby it will be possible to surmount in a satisfactory manner the difficulties that must be encountered in the composition of a good universal catechism. Thus will the great design of the Vatican Council become an accomplished fact.

In confirmation of this result of our discussion we can record in conclusion three facts.

When the little catechism of Blessed Peter Canisius was published in 1556 it was in a very short time translated not only into all the European languages, but also into many outside of Europe, and until the middle of last century it remained in use as the official catechism in countries whose religious and moral conditions differ widely from each other. The same thing happened also to the catechism of the Ven. Cardinal Bellarmine, published in the year 1598. About 1850 a similar success was achieved by the catechism of Father Joseph Deharbe, S.J. In the space of ten years it was translated into thirteen foreign languages, and even to this day it remains in the hands of more than three million children on German soil; it is in use with others in many schools in France, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, and among the Indians and the whites of North, South and Central America. A new edition especially designed for Germany was found suitable also for Chili and Western Africa, and was speedily introduced there.

If this proved true of catechisms which were chiefly composed for a single country, it would *a fortiore* be true of a catechism expressly conceived and composed as a catechism for the whole world.

CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA.



Public Controversies on Religious Matters



For some years past, ecclesiastics and laymen in certain countries have attempted to discuss religious subjects in public debates with others not of their faith. The opportunity of these discussions and the utterances of the Catholic speakers have at times provoked very lively discussions as to the wisdom which dictated them. We do not wish to determine anything in that matter, and we willingly present our compliments to the gentlemen who have espoused the Catholic cause, being perfectly well aware that they had only the good of souls in view and have given evidence of devotion, enthusiasm and talent. We want merely to examine, as Catholics, whether the Church leaves us liberty to provoke, where and when we please, such public debates. Our paper, therefore, will be a brief sketch of the history of the Church on this subject. We remain in the tranquil region of principles, without blaming and without criticising those who, if they are mistaken, can allege the excuse of good faith.

I.

HISTORY OF PUBLIC RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSIES.

St. Stephen engaged in debate with the members of the synagogue and reduced his opponents to silence by the

wisdom of his reasoning. The dialogues of St. Justin are not a factitious literary production, but an excellent account of the discussions which he held with Tryphon.

The disputes between St. Augustine and the Donatists and later on with the Pelagians, produced an immense sensation, on account of the genius of the Catholic champion and the importance of the matter under discussion. St. Dominic also disputed with the Albigenses and overcame them, more by the holiness of his life and his miracles than by his controversies.

Up to that, the Church said nothing about this question and St. Thomas, in his "Summa Theologica," in order to decide whether such disputes were or were not permitted, does not appeal to any positive law, but merely to the light of reason.

It was Alexander IV, in the year 1254 and 1261, who first legislated on it. His decrees, inserted in "Corpus Juris," have still the force of law. "We forbid every layman to dispute on matters of faith, in public or in private. If anyone contravenes this order, let him be excommunicated." Any Bishop, therefore, basing his action on this text, could excommunicate a layman who, without his permission, was found to have taken part in such debate.

Laymen alone were the object of this law, but, in examining the purpose of the decree, moralists admit that it did not prevent a layman from disputing with heretics if the Bishop, trusting in his skill, would authorize him to do so.

Nevertheless, it is very rare to see a layman appear in such debates. It is always ecclesiastics who are to the

fore to meet Protestants in the innumerable "colloquies," as they were called, which took place in France, in Switzerland and especially in Germany at the time of the Reformation.

For a long time the Church did not intervene officially. It permitted these "colloquies" unwillingly, because they were insisted upon by the princes and kings of those countries. Nevertheless, every precaution was taken by her when she found that it was necessary to take part in them but, as a matter of fact, she did not forbid them.

On the 8th of March, 1625, Rome manifested its thought through the Congregation of the Propaganda and forbade "public debates with heretics, because, on account of the ready speech and the audacity of heretics, as well as the enthusiasm produced in the audience, error, generally speaking, seemed to have an advantage over truth. If, at times, it was impossible to refuse to enter into discussion, the Sacred Congregation should be informed of it and it would consider what measures it was proper to take."

In 1631, certain missionaries in Constantinople undertook to debate, in the presence of the Patriarch Nicarios. On that occasion, the Propaganda wrote to the Superior of the missionaries, forbidding it absolutely and threatening punishment in case the offense was repeated.

The same legislation is observed in the decrees of the 6th of February, 1645 and the 18th of December, 1662. In the latter, an injunction is laid upon the General of the Capuchins to refuse all authorization "as the Congregation of the Holy Office has always insisted."

No doubt it was due to these energetic prohibitions that

such public debates, little by little, fell into desuetude. The theologians of the 16th and 17th centuries treated the question at length. The moralists of our days either do not speak of it at all or merely make a brief mention of the ecclesiastical prohibitions.

Are we to conclude from this that the ancient legislation has lapsed? No, but merely that there was no occasion to recall it.

Far from being abandoned, Cardinal Rampolla, in a letter sent to the Bishops of Italy on the 27th of January, 1902, in the name of the Congregation of Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, declares that the law remains in vigor. "As, in their entirety, Socialistic doctrines contain heresies, public discussions with Socialists fall under the decrees of the Holy See relative to public disputes with heretics. The decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda of the 7th of February, 1645, thus remains the legislation which has always been in vigor on this subject. Discussions and public disputes between Catholics and heretics are not permitted except when there is hope of greater good resulting and when the conditions are such as theologians have determined.

"Second: The Apostolic See and the Roman Pontiffs, considering that very often these disputes, discussions and debates have no result or an unfortunate one, have frequently forbidden them and have given orders to ecclesiastical superiors to use their endeavors to prevent them, and, if they do not succeed, they must at least strive to effect that they do not take place without apostolic authority and that no one should enter into them except those who are capable to make Christian truth triumph."

Such are the principal documents which offer light upon the thought of the Church with regard to these debates. We will endeavor, later on, to draw from them a practical conclusion. But, from this simple glance, we perceive that the Church mistrusts them. Nor should we be astonished at this mistrust. If she endeavors to prevent them, it is because experience has taught her their uselessness and their danger.

It may be worth while to recall briefly some of the most important of these controversies. They will throw greater light upon their inutility and the peril which surrounds them.

II.

DEBATES DURING THE REFORMATION.

The Protestants demanded new "colloquies" with Catholics with such insistency as to suggest that their cause did not suffer from such disputes. The Church, on the contrary, went into them only under constraint and in spite of herself. Let us take an example of it in three different countries.

In 1526, a discussion was held at Lausanne, in spite of the prohibition of the Emperor and against the express wish of the Catholics. The civil authorities compelled the priest to take part in it under penalty of fine or exile. The champions of Protestantism—Farel, Viret and Calvin—attacked especially fasting, the Eucharist and the Pope. Their arguments were as coarse as they were feeble. The Catholic defendants, without any great theological knowledge, did not have much trouble in refuting

them. When conquered, the Protestants avenged themselves by obtaining permission from the bailiff of Lausanne to destroy, in the whole country all the chapels, altars and crosses. When one has to deal with adversaries of such a description, it is difficult to expect a good result, no matter how well one may argue.

Can we at least hope for any good when on both sides the discussion is entered into spontaneously?

At Worms, the Catholics had the support of the Emperor. He, in order to avoid other concessions, had granted to the Protestants the holding of a discussion which they demanded, because he thought there was little danger in doing so.

The Catholic who was the chief figure at this meeting was the Blessed Canisius. When constrained to take part, he wrote to the Emperor: "The experience of all times has proven that such assemblies simply lose time in useless discourses. When the discussion is over, neither party admits that it is beaten. Each one claims the victory, an uproar on both sides results and the end of it all is that there is no tranquillizing of consciences, but disagreement more hopeless than before and rancor which is only increased in bitterness."

The debate, nevertheless, began on the 11th of September, 1557. It started with a violent attack by Melancthon, who treated Canisius cynically. Canisius, on his side, merely asked him to declare openly what was the Protestant *Credo*. That immediately got the Protestant theologians warring among themselves, and ended in the expulsion of the Protestant doctors of Saxony and Brunswick, who refused to rally to the standard of Melancthon. Such was the end of the affair. It had no other result.

The same quarrels and the same lack of success showed themselves in France.

In 1561, the Court imagined that it could get out of its difficulty by a debate which it caused to be held at Poissy. The Queen-mother, who was then Regent, was present with Charles IX and the whole Court. Forty Bishops and a great number of theologians were on the side of Catholics. The King of Navarre, the Prince of Navarre, the Prince of Condé represented the Huguenots, whose principal orators were Peter Martyr (the Apostate of Vermilio) and Theodore Beza. Father Lainez, who was sent by the Holy See to prevent any evil result that might ensue, expressed himself very frankly—too much so in the opinion of some of the courtiers.

"Since your Majesty, out of your indulgence for these modern sectaries and your desire to convert them has deigned to permit the conferences, I must ask that they be held before educated people, because for such persons there will be no danger of perversion." The Queen accepted this protest. The colloquy continued, but only between the Bishops and the Protestants. Like the others, it had no result.

So apparent was their uselessness, that the Kings of France and the Emperors of Germany, after having favored them, suppressed them. They came to understand that putting the ideas of the Reformation before a ignorant crowd was like dropping a spark in a bundle of hay.

We trust that we shall not have, as the result of our public debates, imprudently begun in these days, the same

deplorable results. At least let us cherish the hope that they will be undertaken only under conditions directed by the theologians.

III.

WHEN ARE THESE PUBLIC DEBATES PERMITTED?

Here are some of the conditions required by the Roman Congregations or the principal theologians, in accordance with which public discussions may be allowed:

First: That the Catholic champion does not run the risk of compromising the faith, either in the discussion itself or in the preceding discourses.

Second: That he is fully equipped with the necessary knowledge and skill, both of which vary according to the adversaries and the surroundings.

Third: That there is a hope of the discussion being useful to the champion of the other side or at least to the audience.

Fourth: That Catholics do not run the risk of being shaken in their faith by the objections which are put forward.

Fifth: That heretics should not be judges of the doctrine explained.

It may be well to say a few words about some of these conditions, but first let us ask: Should we put in the same class debates with Protestants and those with Socialists?

The Congregation of Extraordinary Affairs, in the letter already quoted, says very clearly "as in their entirety Socialist doctrines contain heresies, public debates with Socialists fall under the decrees of the Holy See relative to public debates with heretics."

A canonist who would put himself at the point of view exclusively of ecclesiastical law, would no doubt find here material for a distinction. But it is certain that some of the Socialistic theories are purely heretical. The Syllabus (No. 18), mentions certain condemnations pronounced against Socialism, and Leo XIII has renewed them, adding his own authority.

The diffusion of these errors at this particular time is assuredly more dangerous than the heresies of the Monophysites or the Iconoclasts.

Finally it is a fact that such discussions are sure to branch out, frequently if not always, into purely religious questions and hence it is we cannot distinguish, practically, between debates with Socialists and debates with heretics. In both of them the defender of our faith must now more than ever possess rare theological and historical knowledge. It is not possible to keep the discussion to one point—it is more than likely to spread out in all directions and he may be assailed by objections of every character.

Not to reply is most frequently to appear to be ignorant, but replies, especially upon facts, cannot be improvised, hence it supposes that a man has gone through all the objections which may possibly be flung at him. Who can flatter himself to have done that? In the 16th century, Canisius himself trembled when face to face with the responsibility which it implied. No man can assume such a task lightly

Preliminary studies do not suffice. Practice is supposed; and the gift of retort, which is so necessary for a public speaker, is very rare. One must have a sort

of instinct or scent for the arguments which will carry conviction to the mind of the hearers. Ordinarily, the decisive argument is not the most rational one nor does the most logical conclusion enforce conviction. A combination of good sense, of wit and of clearness—all of which is a natural gift rather than an acquirement—is demanded.

Besides, supposing the champions equal, it is the defender of the truth who is sure to be the under man at the end. Many a one has had occasion to see that the crowd is more taken with the objection than with the reply. Such was the impression on a number of students, extremely intelligent men, who, on leaving one of these debates, said: "It is good to be a Christian, but this kind of thing rather shakes one up."

Again there are young girls and boys who are to be found in such audiences. Is it prudent to have them listen to theories about free love? In fact it is not so much a question of danger to be feared as of facts which have to be regretted.

"We think," says the *Peuple* of Lille, May 13, 1905, "that if discussions on economy or political subjects are not objectionable, it is not the case when they touch upon great religious or social principles. Those who are not thoroughly Christian and who have not their character well formed may receive impressions that sooner or later as the effect of expressions employed will show themselves by corruption both of mind and heart."

Now certainly no one has the right, and no Catholic should have the desire, to assume the responsibility of a loss of faith or of purity of the soul among his own people.

Will you say that error is sure to reach the ears of the people, and that these public debates will have no other inconvenience than of hastening on the time of such revelations. The Bishops of Lombardy replied to this remonstrance in their collective letter of the 15th of August, 1901:

"In such a case, it would be preferable to organize conferences for the people either before such discussions in order to strengthen them against the discourses of Socialists, or afterwards, in order to destroy the bad effects. Moreover, we must acknowledge that these public debates attract Catholic hearers who would never have gone into a Socialist gathering except on such an occasion, and hence we can say with Suarez that such discussions are rarely permissible, because they suppose a union of circumstances which can rarely be found."

IV.

SHOULD THERE BE ECCLESIASTICAL APPROBATION?

If there is no question of religion, of course every layman is free to step into the arena. He can talk as he likes, about free trade, frenzied finance, patriotism, etc. But the liberty is restricted, if the subject trenches on religion. Catholic revelation is not a deposit which every Christian is charged with watching over and managing as he thinks best. The administration has been confided to a permanent and official body.

Suppose an honest citizen desiring to relieve a revenue officer sets to work to collect the tax. Even if he acquitted himself of the task with the most scrupulous

honesty, he would be requested, nevertheless, and perhaps a policeman would help him to conclude, to keep his hands off what is not his business. He must have a commission from the State to collect taxes; and in the same way an ecclesiastical investiture is required to administer the deposit of the faith.

The Pope in the Universal Church, the bishops in their dioceses are its administrators and guardians. The bishop is above all a teacher. He instructs his flock, and no one can explain or defend the faith without his permission. No priest, even if he were a genius, has the right to preach without faculties from the bishop. For seculars and regulars alike this rule is absolute. If the Council of Trent made no mention of laymen, it is because it never occurred to it, that a layman would explain and defend Catholic doctrine in public.

Laymen in our days have won laurels as defenders of religion that no one would dream of refusing to them. But they are not allowed, any more than clergymen, to exempt themselves from the control of legitimate authority. If the approbation of the bishop is necessary for a priest who speaks in public, much more so is that true for a layman whose peculiar studies do not afford the same guarantee that a priest possesses in his knowledge of theology.

Is it enough to declare that one does not speak officially; that he speaks only for himself in debate?

In the first place, we must recognize that we cannot put ourselves in opposition to facts; and that a Catholic, especially if he enjoys some notoriety or ability really more or less represents in the eyes of the audience the honor of the Church whose doctrine he expounds. This

is apart from that other fact that no Catholic can explain religion without a mission.

Moreover, the ecclesiastical laws already quoted, those in particular which concern laymen, do not suppose that such men speak in the name of the Church. It forbids a layman purely and simply to engage in public controversies with heretics. The military regulations which enjoin upon soldiers not to write in the newspapers would not exculpate the correspondent who would begin by the words: "If I write this article, it is not as a soldier, but as a citizen."

As he is a member of a society which has the right to legislate for itself, a Catholic cannot, in order to escape from the law, act in a double capacity, by submitting as a Catholic and evading the obligation as a man. For that reason the bishops of Lombardy, both with regard to ecclesiastics and with regard to laymen who find themselves under the necessity of refuting error in a Socialistic Conference, claim, in the letter already referred to, the right to grant or refuse authorization. In claiming this right they merely maintain the Catholic tradition.

It would be very short-sighted to complain of this conflict of authorization. If the case occur of one bishop authorizing and another refusing, it only shows that in one diocese there are inconveniences which may not exist elsewhere. But we are convinced that, in general, Catholic public speakers on religious subjects are always anxious to have that benediction of heaven which descends only on obedient sons.

We read in the first book of Machabees (v. 56) that certain young Israelites, anxious to free their brethren, undertook to fight with the unbelievers. They were beaten. "It was a great overthrow," says the Holy

Scripture, "because they did not hearken to Judas and his brethren," but were carried away by their own ardor.

Whatever talent or good-will a man may have, he never accomplishes any solid good for souls—and that is the supreme ambition of young apostles—except with the approbation of those whom God has appointed to be the channels of every grace that comes from heaven.

CONCLUSIONS.

For clearness sake, let us sum up the practical conclusions to be derived from all this.

1. The Church leaves complete liberty to debate purely economic and political questions where religion does not enter.

2. Catholics should not provoke public debates on religious subjects; if they are challenged, they must endeavor not to reply, and if they think they must accept the challenge, they should ask for ecclesiastical approbation.

3. To expose one's self without this safeguard of approbation, to be the cause of loss of faith or purity in one's hearers, is to incur a responsibility which may be very grave, if such injury is foreseen.

4. The bishop, in virtue of canon law, has the power of excommunicating a layman who without permission has a public controversy with heretics.

5. As the bishop is the guardian of the faith, no one has a right to expound or defend the faith without the authorization of the bishop of the diocese where such debate takes place.

6. This general obligation is still stricter in countries

like Italy or in territory subject to the Propaganda, on account of special prohibitions.

7. Catholics listening to such public controversy which they know more or less to be out of order, are according to the circumstances more or less accomplices of its promoters, and consequently sin more or less grievously.

8. A controversy where the Catholic speaker appears alone or almost alone, before an audience altogether heterodox, is evidently less open to objection than another where the hearers are numerous or poorly instructed.

ETUDES.



The Catholics of Belgium



IN the jubilee festivals of Belgium religion occupied the place which was its due. The bishops in a pastoral letter in which they thanked Divine Providence for the favors they had received and asked it to shower anew its numerous blessings upon their flocks, gave the signal to Catholics and stamped the character of the public rejoicing. The festivals were inaugurated at Laeken by a solemn service for the deceased members of the royal family. The following day at the College of Sts. Michael and Gudule a Te Deum was celebrated in the presence of the king, the heir apparent, the princesses and the greatest official personages of the realm. That assemblage, prostrated at the foot of the altar, lifted up its heart to God in thanksgiving for seventy-five years of peace and prosperity, and asked that He would continue to safeguard the interests of the fatherland.

Certainly this is a rare spectacle for our time and might well arouse in neighboring nations a feeling of sympathetic envy. A twofold attachment to religious principles and national liberty is deeply rooted in the hearts of the Belgian people. From this national characteristic we must learn the secret of their history. The memories aroused by the festival of its independence are incontrovertible proofs of it. It was the Catholic Church which in 1815 took the initiative and kept at the head of the movement for freedom. It was the Catholic

party alone which remained faithful in triumph and defeat. It is this alliance between liberty and religion, which after having liberated the nation makes it enjoy in our times that happy destiny of which it is so justly proud.

When the statesmen of 1815 traced on paper their hastily made boundaries of the Dutch-Belgian kingdom of the Low Countries, they neglected one thing; viz.: to take cognizance of the wishes and interests of the people who had been officially united without being consulted. This is in general the reproach cast upon the measure taken by the Congress of Vienna for the remapping of Europe. History has justly censured the grouping together of flocks of human beings, doubtlessly, by way of irony called souls, who are appraised and bartered by a method of bargaining devoid of honor and wisdom. If there ever was a time when it might have been well to stand aloof from a method somewhat materialistic and to take moral principles into consideration, it was when sheer force was saddling a government on a people whose history bears witness that they would not brook such a procedure, and would not be treated as the creatures of caprice. Under similar circumstances the inhabitants of Flanders had given their rulers instances of their untamable spirit. What was especially native to them was that their instinct of liberty did not as in other European countries exist only in a nobility attached to their ancestral rights and privileges, those heritages of feudalism which had disappeared with feudal times; but the same desire for liberty had been manifest early in the rich and enlightened bourgeoisie whose wonderful development had made possible the glorious commercial prosperity of the Flemish towns. It was only in Belgium that one could see in the thir-

teenth century in the very midst of the Middle Ages the two brewers of Ghent, the Artevelde, borne to power on the arms of a popular uprising, maintaining themselves for several years, and one of them ending by measuring his strength with the King of France in open campaign. Later on we know what was the opposition that met Philip II and his representative, the Duke of Alva, when they thought of putting the yoke of the Spanish Inquisition upon Catholics whose faith was above suspicion. Though the times were much changed in 1815 and these memories too faint to be heeded, we should at least recall that at the eve of the revolution, a like fate had been meted out to the pretended reforms of Joseph II urged by him in a different spirit, in the name of the philosophy of the time, and amid the plaudits of the cultured ranks of Paris. An awful insurrection, victorious for an instant, which had scarcely terminated at the moment of the French conquest, had found its principal impulse in the discontent caused by those consciences which took alarm at the tendency of the civil power to tamper with religious liberty and the authority of the Pope.

These considerations did not tend for an instant to check the opinions of the royal ordainers of the destinies of Europe. They did not hesitate to assume the attitude of conqueror and suzerain toward peoples from time immemorial jealous of their independence. Even before the definite conclusion of the arrangements made at Vienna, they assigned to Holland, which had been freed from the presence of French troops since 1813, and had recovered its autonomy, "a rectification of frontiers" and "an increase of the countries lying between the Meuse, the ancient frontiers of France and the sea." That was simply to describe Belgium without

naming it, and when in June, 1814, the union of the two countries was officially decided, the statesmen assembled in London went to the length of invoking their rights of conquest in Belgium in order to cut short all resistance. It was not possible to irritate in a more off-hand fashion the susceptibilities of either party, both of which were equally sacrificed.

This was not all. Upon those people who had but recently given proof of their Catholic faith, they did not scruple to impose a Protestant sovereign, the surviving chief of the House of Orange, the son of the last Stadholder, whom the Batavian republic, created in imitation of that of France, had deposed, namely, William I, monarch of the Low Countries, whose name alone recalled to the Belgians simply by its own reflection the religious struggles which their ancestors had witnessed in the sixteenth century. To explain such a misunderstanding of the rights of conscience it is but necessary to recall that in the deliberations held by the four principal crowned heads of Europe, there was only one Catholic against two Protestants and a schismatic. That princely council so variegated in its religious color was seen on the one hand lavishing its homage on the Supreme Pontiff, who had been rehabilitated in his capital by their efforts, and on the other hand ratifying, without seeming to perceive it, the suppression set on foot by the Empire of all the ancient ecclesiastical principalities of Germany. It seems to us that nothing proves better than this inconsistency, to what a degree religious questions in this historical crisis were relegated to the rear rank to make way for political necessities and personal considerations. The name of the Holy Alliance which graced the preamble of the several collective acts of the Powers bore witness simply to a vague deism divorced from all

clearly defined dogma. These political sages no doubt thought that the prince whom they had made monarch of a mixed people, doubtless would be so liberal in thought, or to put it better, so imbued with the tolerance of scepticism, that he would live only in that atmosphere. Their designs came to naught. It was not that the king was inspired by the spirit of a fiery propagandizing zeal which in the past had strengthened and made popular the fame of his forefathers. The difficulty arose less from the ardor of his convictions than from his nature, which was irascible, opinionated and quite incompetent to manage a delicate situation which required above all things tact and dexterity. He was one of those men, who having once adopted a bad measure, would continue to defend it by a still worse course of action.

It is well to note that it was in the domain of religion that this authoritative temperament was to find the obstacle against which it was to shatter itself. The very first sovereign act to originate from William I after the official union of the two countries, was the promulgation of the constitutional law, or as it was called the fundamental law of the new kingdom. In Holland the prominent men who were consulted voted unanimously in approval. In Belgium disapprobation was expressed. From 1,603 prominent personages chosen to vote only 1,313 signified any opinion at all; 519 votes were favorable, 761 were opposed. The fundamental law would then have been rejected by a plurality of more than 200 votes, if the king had not thought of other expedients that would make a majority agreeable to his caprice.

Accordingly by applying the adage that "silence gives consent" the absentees were recorded as voting in approval, which immediately gave the law a plurality of eleven votes. It was a small margin, indeed, to decide

the destinies of a nation. But another expedient still more efficacious was to reduce the number of negative votes. There were 126 negative voters who had based their disapproval on the ground that one of the articles proposed, established the complete equality of both creeds, which was repugnant to the traditional customs of the country and disquieting to the voice of conscience. The king declared that this equality of creed was an organic law made obligatory on all by authority of the constitution of the kingdom and could not be attacked; and thus the 126 negative ballots were declared null and void by a stroke of the pen.

Catholic opposition began to appear. Paralyzed for an instant by an interpretation of the law that regarded solely the letter and neglected the spirit, Catholics started to demonstrate that they could not be treated as easily as was imagined. Once the law was enacted, the oath to obey and respect it was obligatory in all public business and the principal acts of official life. It was at this juncture that the Belgian episcopacy went into action. A manifesto appeared signed by all the bishops of the province, having as a title the terms: "*Doctrinal Opinion.*" The faithful were forbidden to give support to sentiments which placed error on an equal footing with truth, and grievously affronted the dignity while it menaced the liberty of the Church.

"We have deemed it necessary," said the bishops, "to declare that no one in our dioceses can, without being guilty of grievous sin, take the several oaths prescribed by the constitution." Then they reviewed the articles of constitutional law which were in opposition to the spirit and maxims of the Church. "To swear to maintain the right to any religious opinion and the equality accorded to all creeds, what is that but to swear

to uphold and cherish error as well as truth, to encourage the spread of anti-Catholic doctrine, and at the same time to sow in the harvest as far as is in one's power the evil and poisonous weeds which are to bring harm to the present generation as well as to those that are to come. The Catholic Church which has always rejected error and heresy from its bosom cannot regard as her children those who dare swear to maintain what she has never ceased to condemn. That dangerous error was never before introduced into a Catholic country except by the French revolutionists only twenty-five years ago, and then absolutely condemned by the Head of the Church. To swear to obey a law which makes all the king's subjects, whatever is their religious belief, eligible to all dignities and offices, would be to gratify in advance all measures undertaken to deliver the interests of our holy religion in Catholic provinces to Protestant officials." The bishops also commented on the article authorizing the liberty of the press as opening the door to unlimited disorder.

The Belgian episcopacy, therefore, was in a state of moral insurrection against the sovereign; the majesty of the throne had been publicly insulted. This offence could not be suffered with impunity. The first victim of royal resentment was the Bishop of Ghent, the most prominent of those in opposition, Monsigneur Maurice Jean-Magdeleine de Broglie. It was not the first time that Monsigneur de Broglie had found himself in conflict and had lowered the colors of those all-powerful for the time being. Included by Napoleon without being aware of the fact, among the bishops nominated after the Concordat, attached in the capacity of almoner to the Emperor, made a courtier despite himself, the young prelate had not yielded for an instant to the fascination

which Napoleon exercised to an unparalleled extent upon all those with whom he came in contact. In direct ratio to the measure of success which attended the Emperor's method of persecuting Pius VII, Monsigneur de Broglie's zeal for the emperor diminished, grew cold, changed to opposition, open resistance and at length downright hostility.

Briefly, in 1811, after the dissolution of the national council where he had signalized with éclat his changed attitude, he and two of his colleagues, one of whom was the Bishop of Tournay, who also belonged to the Belgian episcopacy, were without any warning arrested, imprisoned for a while at Vincennes, and then exiled to some small towns in France with the express injunction not to communicate in any way with their dioceses. Monsigneur de Broglie, not conforming with these regulations, was again arrested and under strong guard sent to the Island of St. Marguerite, where he ran the risk of ending his days, if the events of 1814 had not brought to him as well as many victims of the imperial police the end of arbitrary detention.

Returning to his diocese, he did not disguise his discontent to see Belgium subjected to the rule of a Protestant sovereign. There ensued consequently between him and the Crown a series of quarrels and mutual recriminations, in the midst of which the fact that he had inspired and had been the first to sign the "*Doctrinal Opinion*" was in the eyes of William an unpardonable offense. Cited to appear for trial and his arrest ordered, Monsigneur de Broglie did not await arrest by a tribunal whose legality he questioned. He secretly departed from Belgium, was adjudged guilty of contumacy, and while the sentence, compiled in most offensive terms, was gazetted in Ghent itself, he returned to the small town of

Beanne, where he had remained during the imperial persecution.

His adversaries on this occasion then undertook the part of acting on a smaller stage with actors of lesser prominence what was an exact repetition of that which had already been attempted on a larger scale. This time also, as in Napoleonic days, the vicars of the persecuted bishop were put in prison, the seminarists enrolled in the militia, and all his diocese abandoned. The same state of affairs was brought to pass in other dioceses and the conflict between the Belgian Church and royalty became general. In the midst of the discords which began with every hour in many places, the progress of time made manifest that the controversy concerning education was the question that most interested the majority of the people. Instead of making moderate use of the monopoly with which he had vested himself, William thought it politic to answer each resistance which he encountered, with a train of vexatious measures intended to make the yoke still heavier.

Dissolution of establishments where instruction was still independently carried on; prohibition to engage in classical studies outside the Low Countries under pain of being interdicted from access to all public functions, even ecclesiastical; expulsion of the Christian Brothers who had many institutions in the Walloon provinces; withdrawal of authorization from other teaching congregations, and their acceptance of novices subjected to the official inspection and control of the State; distribution in the schools of books of doubtful orthodoxy and the suppression of catechisms approved by the Church; all these sordid, tyrannical proceedings, renewed since then in different countries and under different regimes, and which now that we see them reappear have no more

the novelty of originality, were successively adopted to overcome a resistance which no efforts ever conquered.

Finally it was believed that a decisive coup had been made in establishing a large college, whose sole purpose was to prepare students for a religious vocation. All students wishing to take holy orders were compelled to study philosophy, theology, the history of religion and law under the instruction of professors appointed by the king, who were not under the surveillance of the Church and not answerable to ecclesiastical authority for their doctrines. Any young Belgian who had not completed this course was ineligible for entrance into a diocesan seminary.

The truth was, however, that such universal disapprobation became apparent, and the bishops displayed so resolute a resistance, that it was necessary in the following year to relax these exacting requirements to some extent. But the scandal was consummated. Never before had there been so bold and audacious an attempt to crush the faith and enslave the conscience. It certainly was, to say the least, somewhat provoking to dub a lay seminary a college of philosophy which according to current report seemed designed to dispel all religious thought. It was equivalent to a defiance to institute it on a site which abounded in relics and mementos of the university that had been throughout the centuries the glory of the Belgian Church and one of the lights of the Christian world.

We must confess, however, that the odious abuses which we have enumerated did not excite unanimous disapproval in all ranks of society. And if anything could incite the government to persevere, it was the fact that no sooner did it enact any measure, than the struggle forthwith ensuing between Church and royalty was re-

garded by a certain political party, not simply with indifference, but with a secret satisfaction. Whatever attachment in fine the great majority of the Belgians professed for the Catholic faith, they were far from being made up altogether of zealous believers ready to favor the purpose of the ecclesiastical party and adopt the cause of the rights and liberties of the Church. The philosophical principles rife in France in the preceding century had been diffused in Belgium, especially in that part of the country where familiarity with the French tongue had facilitated the comprehension of French opinion and favored its propagation. The effect of these principles had been already perceived in the insurrection which had preceded the conquest. The revolutionists became divided; one side asked only that their ancient rights be maintained, while the other wished to establish a more democratic constitution, and this dissension had contributed to bring about their mutual defeat.

When the republican conquest directed by Dumouriez was accomplished, the converts to new ideas welcomed the invader who came in the guise of a soldier. They accepted the forfeiture without resistance, though violently imposed, of all the privileges of the nobility and Church. Those changes had already become accomplished facts and had passed into the customary usage, when the Empire, by applying the Concordat and the Code Napoleon moderately and regularly, had confirmed and almost made them nationally organic. That social state born of the Revolution had then become dear to those Belgians; and the number of those was considerable, who, while retaining a respect for hereditary beliefs, regarded with displeasure anything which might prepare the return of the régime of thirty years before, whose abuses, real or imaginary, were the only things connected with it that they

were accustomed to recall. We know how the mere name of the ancient régime and the chimerical fear of seeing it restored, made the task of recalling the French monarchy so difficult. It is not astonishing that the same sentiment existed in Belgium, at least, in those regions that were nearest the French border. It was sufficient that the Belgian episcopacy had permitted to become apparent at times its regret for a period when the Church held a place which these men did not wish it to regain, to give the hint to a number of unquiet spirits to set up a cry about the danger of "clerical influence."

These persons voluntarily made a virtue of William's acts in thus checking a bit rudely, it is true, said they, ecclesiastical ambition. They established a flattering comparison between him and the royal family of France which the whole irreligious press represented then as dominated by the religious orders and the clerical party. Some went to the length of expressing their pleasure in the fact that William's heretical convictions would serve as a guarantee against a similar weakness. So in opposition to the militant Catholics a party was formed, which christened itself Liberal, with doubt because, through a confusion of ideas which we see once more reappearing in these days, its adherents thought the most pressing interests of liberty were the grievous hampering of the Church's power for good and the ruin of its authority.

There was reason to fear for a time that the support of the Liberals would not be given or be loyal to the artificial and enforced union that had resulted in 1815 in establishing the kingdom of the Low Countries. To break the agreement with the Crown nothing more was needed than the annoyances and injuries that Belgian patriotism was made to suffer. These wrongs have been

recounted in history more than once. Under cloak of a false numerical superiority a majority was assured to the representatives of Holland in the States-General. Then there was an iniquitous reassignment of taxes which was designed to place the burden of assessments principally upon the agricultural Belgians, and to be employed mainly in liquidating the old debts of Holland or in defraying the charge of maintenance and repair of the Netherland dykes. There was a systematic partiality in the appointment of public officials, so much so, that at the end of six years, by a series of removals and nominations made in the same spirit, only one-third of the personnel of the various State departments were Belgians. Again, there was still more accentuated partiality in the choosing of army officers, barely one-quarter of the corps being Belgians. All officers of high rank were Dutch, and the army controlled by the Prince of Orange as General-in-Chief became an instrument of oppression rather than a means of national defense. To sum up all: the country's *amour propre* was wounded, the national pride insulted, and more cruel than material vexations Dutch was made obligatory simply by royal decree as the only official language; it alone was to be countenanced in administrative and judicial acts and was to be required of all aspirants for public office.

The experience of all time bears witness that no more is needed than suffering a common hatred to reconcile those who have been enemies for a long time, no matter what may be the opinions and interests that keep them apart. Consequently there is no need to be astonished that the gulf between the Catholic Belgians and the Belgian Liberals gradually narrowed; they were victims of the same tyrannical measures and menaced by the same ruin. They no longer busied themselves in ascer-

taining one another's devotion or hostility to this or that religious conviction, but rather sought to know whether they wished to remain Belgians or become Dutch.

This agreement could only be concluded providing that some concessions should be made by both sides which the prudence of the leaders made acceptable to the rank and file. On the part of the Liberals, abstention was required from the abusive polemics against the Church and the priests, indulged in by them up to that moment, which hostile action was at that time backed up by the French press. They were to cease talking of the Inquisition, and St. Bartholomew, of the craft and domineering spirit of the Jesuits, the Mainmorte, and the peril that threatened the general prosperity by the expansion of monastic interests. These common topics of the vulgar free thinker which could be discussed later on, without losing anything by thus waiting, were to be suppressed and held in abeyance.

The Catholics on their side voiced their claims with a less exclusive and personal tone. Briefly, they asked for freedom as a right common to all believers and unbelievers, and not as a privilege only for the Church and the faithful. Concerning this stipulation the most eminent men of the Catholic group undertook to make it possible through candid as well as lofty avowals for the Church to fulfil her mission to preach and convert, claiming but her share of the universal freedom, assured that through divine grace and love of truth she would understand how to maintain her strength. But so full of prejudice were the Liberals that it was with great difficulty that they were brought to admit that precaution should be taken regarding the freedom of education, which was above everything else the principal object of

Catholic protest. In protesting against the supremacy of the State in educational matters, it was necessary to combat the suspicion of harboring the wish to transfer to the Church this supremacy, thus substituting one monopoly for another. Freedom should be assured beyond all constraint and also legal control for all the fathers of family in choosing the teachers of their children, being only responsible to God and their consciences.

Upon the basis of mutual deference the expressed and formal compact between the Catholic and Liberal parties was thus concluded in 1828 after thirty years of patience. But here a question came up: Was the Belgian Church to abandon the principles advocated in the past in the "*Doctrinal Opinion*" because, in brief, and the reader has without doubt noted the fact, the declaration of 1828 did not resemble, nor could it, the manifesto of 1815? To this we reply that the Belgian bishops and Catholics in that period did effectively change their attitude but not their convictions. This change of attitude was motivated by the modifications of the social temperament, more and more pronounced, in which the Church had to continue her work.

In accordance with the teachings of the Church, the ideal of society is Christian unity, the unanimous agreement of humanity in the faith of Christ, in the hope that it establishes, in the love with which it enlightens. The expression, Christendom, that admirable and venerable word, but which is in danger of losing its force in modern speech, represented the sublime idea. Since 1789 the rationalistic school had chosen another ideal for society: not the unity of faith, but liberty. Liberty is the power to choose, it is the means to attain what is good. Of this means they made an end. The purpose of society was achieved according to them not when the greatest

number acquired all possible truth and virtue, but when each one was afforded the greatest possible facility to indulge his particular pleasure with impunity. Freedom to do good is a part of the general agreement, and is so to speak under the protection of the liberty to do evil. We are allowed according to the modern idea to do anything, even to do good.

Of these two concepts which is the truest—that which answers best the exigencies of reason and of faith, or that which best guards the interests of the people? There is no room for doubt. In theory the common weal, conscience, and right seek only that the truth shall be paramount. It was this point of view that the bishops held in 1815, and consequently they kept in mind that the State owed its protection only to the true religion. They judged, moreover, that the social government of the country admitted then the strict application of the Christian ideal. On this point of fact were they right or wrong? That is open to discussion. This, however, is certain, that according as the malcontents increased in number and influence, it became more and more clear that the maintenance of a monopoly to the advantage of the Church grew impossible and reacted against its interests. The time had come to remember that the Church had always known how to yield by practical adjustment to the organic necessities of human life upon earth. When, to the great detriment of the public welfare, on account of causes which are not in the power of the Church to suppress by her own efforts, unanimity of belief is sundered in a nation; when it is optional only to choose between toleration and war, she knows how to recede from the absolute and to tolerate what she cannot help. Thus, in the encyclical *Immortale Dei*, she affirms that a ruler, “in view of a good to be accomplished

or an evil to be averted," may legitimately "make room in the State for each of the several creeds." The course of action taken by the Belgian Catholic leaders in 1828 was thus explained.

Speculatively considered and compared to the normal régime, in a place where it would be applicable, external liberty given to error would be an evil, and if we call it a lesser evil it is only through comparison with a system a hundred times worse—that, namely, which gives monopoly to error and suppresses the truth. But as all efforts tending to re-establish by authority of law unanimity of belief in modern society gives rise to bitter hatreds and violent reactions, the system of tolerance wisely regulated is an actual, if somewhat relative, good and a real one, on account of its relations with our present condition. The situation thus created may be pronounced good, as it could not be better without ceasing to be possible, and the impossible does not accomplish any good. It is permissible to accept it as it is, in its entirety, even though it also grants freedom to error, and to maintain that any other system would actually be less advantageous to Christian truth. We find that amount of good which we could hope for, the one which our times and country can afford to give. That is enough to allow us to love it. It was in this sense that the illustrious Cardinal Deschamps, Archbishop of Malines, wrote later: "We ought not only obey, but we should love and respect the Belgian Constitution." It is that which inspired the Holy See to give its decisions for the Belgian Catholics, for whom the constitutional question was declared definitely closed and settled.

When in 1828 the Catholics made an alliance with the Liberals, there was no intention to overturn the throne, but solely to demand legal reforms, and more

than anything else an administrative arrangement that would give autonomy to the two parts of the kingdom, with a personal union under the sceptre of the same prince. It was for the attainment of this object that an energetic and successful struggle was carried on till in the middle of 1830, when the unforeseen news that arrived from France gave a different aspect to the conflict. A great revolution had taken place in France. In three days the entire army of royal forces were compelled to recoil before the popular uprising, the king was proscribed and a new dynasty proclaimed. In Belgium everything yielded to the force of example and the irresistible might that a popular dazzling movement exercises over the imagination of the masses. "Let us do like the Parisians" was the general cry. The revolution was already consummated in spirit. It needed only a spark to explode the popular fury. A tumultuous crowd at the door of the theatre; an operatic refrain in which the word liberty was pronounced, repeated in chorus by an excited throng when going into the street—and a month had hardly elapsed when Brussels presented the spectacle of an uprising akin to that of Paris. We know the rest: the overturning of the Orange dynasty; the separation of Belgium and Holland; the calling of Leopold I to the throne of Belgium; the proclamation of a constitution which ordained freedom of assembly, association, and religious teaching as the fundamental law of the new kingdom. Religious interests then found security in an ample common law which allowed the Church to organize its hierarchy and gather resources, and to these aids were joined, as the just reward of a great social service, marked advantages, as, exemption of the clergy from military duty and payment by the State for ecclesiastical service. It was separation, if

we wish to call it so, but a separation which oppressed no one, which respected vested rights, which left to liberty its normal and regular sphere of action.

In 1830 all the Belgians were united against foreign domination. Unfortunately, the enemies of the day before, for a moment united against the common enemy, did not hesitate, as soon as the victory was obtained, to separate anew and reassume their hostile attitude. In 1831 a group of Liberals founded a paper called the *Independent* whose policy, rudely carried out, was to batter a breach in the system of religious liberty adopted by the congress. "A Catholic religious society," they said, "seems to us to be essentially an invader, and we think it dangerous and continually hostile to civil society. We believe it our duty to watch its actions and to combat its invasions." During the first years of the kingdom profound differences between Catholics and Liberals did not take a distinct political form. The government endeavored to exist outside or above the two opposing groups. The ministers often changed; from 1831 to 1837 there were seven, but the king systematically avoided the formation of a partisan ministry. He appointed moderate men of intermediate opinion, in whom at the same time were blended the opinions of the representatives of both parties—as for instance in the Nothomb Ministry there were three Catholics and three Liberals. It was the English theory of the eighteenth century, namely, that the ministry should not be homogeneous, but impartial and without policy.

It has been otherwise since 1847. From that date the constant practice in Belgian politics has been to have a homogeneous ministry chosen from the majority of the Chamber. Electors and deputies are grouped into parties Catholic and Liberal which are in constant oppo-

sition. They take issue in elections of all descriptions, for the Senate, for the Chamber, for provincial and municipal councils. They struggle for the possession of the Cabinet. They battle for the enactment of laws, above all on questions appertaining to the relations of Church and State. The Catholics in the name of liberty of conscience, the Liberals in the name of independence, or, to put it better, for the omnipotence of civil power. The Catholic party embraces the Flemish country where the rural population is in the majority: Flanders, the territory of Antwerp, Limburg, and a portion of Hainault. The Liberal party derives its power from the industrial population of the Walloon country, Brussels, Hainault and the territory of Liège. The two parties struggle for supremacy in the two Flemish commercial cities of Antwerp and Ghent and the agricultural portion of the Walloon country, Namur and Luxembourg.

Since 1847 the two parties have alternated in power. Three times it was held by the Liberals, first from August, 1847, to March, 1855; secondly from November, 1857, to July, 1870; thirdly from June, 1878, to June 1884; in all twenty-eight years. The Catholics were in power, first from March, 1855, to November, 1857; secondly from July, 1870, to June, 1878; thirdly from 1884 to the present moment; in all thirty-five years. This vacillating system seems like the English parliamentary rule, but the reciprocal attitude of the parties is altogether different. In England the Whigs and Tories, separated by secondary differences, are united for the maintenance of the constitution and the fundamental rights of each citizen. In Belgium the discordance between Catholics and Liberals is based on the very concept of the social order. It is a struggle not between political parties, but between two societies reared side

by side in contrary principles. This incompatibility provokes strong passions, bitter polemics in the Chamber and the press, sometimes brawls in the streets, especially on the part of workingmen in the large Walloon towns who are more prone to tumult than the Flemish peasants. There is not one of these questions touching upon the liberty and actions of the Church, public aid, burial grounds, civil marriage and diplomatic relations with the Pope, which has not embroiled both parties. But above all, the question of education in all its various aspects is the great stake in the political battle. With the organization of universal suffrage the question of education did not cease to be the order of the day and to animate the combatants.

Higher education on the part of the Catholics is given in the University of Louvain, which, taking advantage of freedom, the Church party had established in 1834, as soon as the Liberals had founded the rival University of Brussels. As regards secondary education the Liberals passed the law of 1850 which denied all right of control to the clergy. Coincidentally the bishops replied in rebuttal by the Convention of Antwerp, which declared that when a town demands a chaplain for its college, the demand could not be granted except on condition of admitting the right of surveillance by the Church. The religious education which was incumbent upon the majority, namely, Catholic education, was only to be given within the precincts of colleges, the Catholic clergy were to have place as regards administrative offices, and the professors should heed their suggestions in choosing text-books, in what they said, and in their conduct.

It was the question of elementary education that gave rise to the most savage attacks. The law of 1842, due

to the initiative of M. Nothomb, could justly be termed wise and equitable. The powers of the State, provincial and municipal, were centralized for the official service of popular education. Moreover, it assured to the State's service the concurrence of the clergy, by including among other obligatory things the teaching of religion. "No elementary education without moral and religious education," had said M. Nothomb; "we abandon the philosophical doctrines of the eighteenth century which have completely secularized the school and placed society upon a purely rationalistic basis." Religious instruction was declared obligatory in the public schools and confided to the care of the Church, but with the conditioning clause, fit to reassure all consciences, viz., that dissidents and unbelievers were dispensed from attending the religious course. This law, dictated by good sense and justice, lasted for thirty-six years. More than once the Liberals made it a party question, but it triumphed over their attacks. The Rogier Liberal ministry (1847-1855), the Frère-Orban, more aggressive (1870-1875), had passed it by, leaving it standing, but when Frère-Orban in 1879 with a progressive ministry grasped once more the reins of power, his first care in accordance with his platform was to work for the abrogation of the law of 1842. He began by creating a special commission of public education, and then, after six months, he had passed the school law of July 1, 1872, called the Secular Elementary Educational Law. The law was characterized by two traits which would in the long run make it insupportable to the Belgian people: First, the abolition of municipal autonomy regarding schools; and, secondly, the secularization of education.

The municipality was thus driven from the schools. The teacher was instructed by the State, appointed by

the State, and supervised by the State. Nothing was left to the municipality but the obligation of incurring all the expenses with which the government saddled it. There was no recourse against the caprices of supervision, no freedom in the choice of teachers, in the direction of studies and in the drawing up of programmes. Such an arrangement necessarily introduced trouble in a country accustomed and attached for a long time to local rights, whatever from another standpoint might be the religious point of view. The burgomasters and the aldermen were constrained to expel those masters with whom they were satisfied, and to accept others whom they did not wish. Condemned to open the municipal treasury to every requisition without any control over the disbursements of their moneys, placed under surveillance when free from any reproach, they, when subjected to such treatment, revolted against its authors. Too much reliance had been presumed with regard to the tractability of the ancient Flemish cities.

The discontent culminated when it was perceived that a religious war had been declared under cover of law, and that the Christian ideas dear to a majority of the Belgian people had not been respected. The law decreed neutrality. The science of religion was expunged from the course of study in the normal schools, and in any case the professor certainly could not talk about what he had never studied. State education was to remain foreign to all creed, to all beliefs. We know from experience what that means and how such silence by the teacher is already of itself an offense against God and a denial of justice to the child, making an immediate opening for negation and blasphemy. Can or should the teacher remain silent on religious subjects? The Belgian Catholics did not by any means think so. They

even thought that it was not enough for the minister of a creed to teach religion outside of school hours in the parish where the school was situated. They wished to have the school truly Christian, where the teacher would be able to blend without difficulty religious notions with the rest of the instruction, pronouncing the name of God, and deriving from the authority of the Sacred Name the basis and sanction of duty.

The bishops, assembled at Malines, in two collective letters condemned the new school system "as perverse, impious, and contrary to Divine Law." They also agreed upon the canonical measures that were to be taken against those who complied with the law. Absolution was to be refused students and professors in normal schools, to the elementary teachers, to parents who allowed their children to go to these schools. The parish priests were to work for the founding of Catholic schools.

The Belgian Government had no direct hold on the bishops who were nominated exclusively at Rome, who were their own masters in their own dioceses. They addressed themselves to the new Pope Leo XIII. The Pontiff declared to the Belgian representative at Rome that he was unable to disapprove of the conduct of the bishops, but that he would recommend them to be calm and moderate. Frère-Orban tried to read into the Pope's letter a reprehension of the bishops, and tried to compel the Pope to make known to the bishops that he was not in accord with them. He broke off relations with the Pope, accusing him of falsehood, and the Belgian ambassador to the Vatican was recalled while the Nuncio departed from Brussels, June, 1880.

The battle between the Government and the Church waxed furious. In every direction Catholic schools

were reared. They were built, paid for, and filled with pupils, in less time than the functionaries of the administration took to formulate their plans and include their outlay in the budget. Two thousand and sixty-four establishments founded in a year after the passing of the law, three thousand eight hundred and eighty-five in existence in 1884, bore witness to the unanimous and generous feeling which possessed the nation. Gifts streamed in. Money, land, school apparatus and furniture were offered. Twenty to twenty-five millions was the annual tribute poured forth. One hundred to one hundred and fifty millions was the capital engaged in these new creations. Yet in the presence of such efforts and such success the authors of the law of 1879 did not consider themselves conquered. The more the State schools were deserted, the more they laid expenses upon municipal corporations, and lavished the public funds to support and multiply the government schools. The total budget for public education at the same time that the attendance had decreased one-half amounted to eleven millions in 1878 and totaled twenty-eight millions in 1884. The magnificent zeal shown by the Catholics was made the object of rigorous measures. The custom of employing vicars as Catholic instructors was suppressed; the privileges of seminarists in military matters were abolished. Means were sought to embarrass the spread of the religious orders. Nothing came of it all. In the year 1881 sixty-three per cent. of the total school population attended private schools. In Eastern Flanders there was eighty-one per cent., in Western Flanders eighty-three per cent.

This state of affairs could not last. It terminated in an almost general uprising of the townships and the downfall of the Government. The election of 1884 gave

the Catholics in the Chamber of Representatives a majority well above that which had maintained the ministry of 1879. Some days after the Malou ministry was formed and the eminent leader of the Belgian Conservatives gathered around him the Woestes, the Jacobs, and the Bernaerts, friends well worthy to aid him.

The first care of this new cabinet was to undo the work of the Liberal and Progressive party. Diplomatic relations with Rome were re-established. Public instruction was replaced under the Minister of the Interior as before the year 1878, and finally the new administration proceeded to draw up a new school law. The school law of 1884 is summed up in a word—recognition of the right of townships to designate the representatives of the wishes of fathers of families. The township can at its option maintain a public school or “choose” and subsidize a private institution, providing that the latter accept the general conditions of the government curriculum and admit inspection. Religious instruction is obligatory in the school if the township authorities have so decided. It can be imparted before or after class, according to the case with which the parents may arrange the attendance of their children, if they judge proper to have them instructed. Twenty fathers of families can compel the municipal corporation to organize a neutral or sectarian school according to the circumstances of the case.

Were not these last stipulations of a nature to satisfy even the most radical partisans of liberal thought? It would have seemed natural, if the Conservatives, returned to power, re-established purely and simply the prescriptions of the law of 1842. The Liberals themselves expected this. The Catholic majority did not go to that length. They possessed the Belgian spirit born

of independence, tolerance, good sense, a concept of society acquired amidst the bitterness of a widespread oppression, and also the virtuous determination that they would not be oppressors in any manner. The majority made a scruple of avoiding even the appearance of oppressing anyone in any shape or form whatsoever. It was content with authorizing the township to conform in educational matters with the freely expressed will of the family. Could they be called reactionary and clerical? Could such a law be termed "accursed"? This is the wrong alleged by the Liberals. Truly, they are lucky to have monopolized the term Liberal, which a thousand times rather belongs to their opponents.

Since 1884 the Catholics have remained in power. Amidst some oscillations, their majority in the Chamber has constantly increased. Ninety-eight against forty in 1886, one hundred and eleven against forty in 1896. The Belgians have never been so free, so happy, since the Catholics have directed their destinies. This glorious prosperity is an eloquent and peremptory refutation of all those who allege that Catholic countries are irremediably doomed to decadence.

ETUDES.



Ruthenia's Return to the Church.



I.

CORPORATE Reunion is for many reasons an attractive ideal, nor is it wonderful that it should be sedulously pursued by those who from the condition of their birth find themselves in communions separated from the Holy See, but have learnt to feel the scandal of religious divisions. It is well, however, to realize the obstacles which are sure to spring up in the path of any Reunion movement so soon as it passes from the academic stage, and enters on its inevitable conflict with the manœuvres of interested politicians and the unreasoning conservatism of the masses. Nor can this realization be better acquired than by studying a concrete case such as is the history of the Reunion movement accomplished, to a large extent successfully, between the Holy See and the Ruthenian Church, during the closing years of the sixteenth, and the opening years of the seventeenth century. Notwithstanding the valuable collection of documents in Theiner's *Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae historiam illustrantia*, it has always been a difficulty in the way of tracing this history that the chief authorities for the facts were accessible only in Russian or Polish originals. But this difficulty is now

partly removed by the recent publication of Dr. Paul Jedzink's translation into German of Bishop Likowski's work on the Union of Brest,¹ and it is on this book that we shall mainly rely in the brief outline we propose to give.

The name Ruthenian is in modern times restricted to the race inhabiting the part of Galicia of which Lemberg is the capital. But as a term it is only a variant of Russian, and was originally used to designate the population of a territory which in a broad sense may be taken to comprise the Southwestern provinces of modern Russia, that is, White, Little and Red Russia, together with the modern Austrian province of Galicia, though more strictly it designated the southern half of this area. In other words, this southern half was the territory of the Ruthenians proper, with the circumstances of whose return to Catholic communion we are now concerned; whilst the northern half, though then constituting the territory proper of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy, contained, as having been previously taken from the Ruthenians, a considerable infusion of members of that race. In the days of St. Wladimir the Great this Ruthenia in the broader sense formed the main portion of his dominions, and is therefore to be regarded as the original nucleus of the Russian Empire. Its population was converted to Christianity, in 988, by the example and influence of that prince, or, to be more accurate, by his orders, which brooked no resistance. After the death of St. Wladimir, his ample dominions were split up by division among his heirs into several

¹ *Die Ruthenisch-Römische Kirchenvereinigung genannt Union von Brest.* Von Edward Likowski Weihbischof in Posen. Uebertragen von Prälat Dr. Paul Jedzink. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder.

petty sovereignties under the suzerainty of Kieff. The consequent loss of cohesion among these parts led eventually to the eastern provinces falling under the domination of the Tartars, and the Western or Ruthenian provinces being absorbed in the fourteenth century, partly by the Grand Duke of Lithuania, whose capital was at Wilna, but partly by the Kings of Poland. This meant that the whole of Ruthenia soon passed under the rule of Poland, for in 1386 the Grand Duke Wladislaus Jagellon of Lithuania married the only child of the reigning King of Poland, and, although the two territories continued politically distinct till the Treaty of Lublin (1569), from the date of this marriage the Kings of Poland were always Grand Dukes of Lithuania. In the beginning, however, of the sixteenth century the Russian Empire had been reconstituted under the Czars, who had by then taken Moscow as their new capital. About that time they recovered some Ruthenian provinces from the Lithuanians, and, though a century later they lost them again, the loss was only temporary. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, Russia had begun, under the Romanoff dynasty, that advance westwards which did not cease till she had united permanently to her Empire not only all and more than all her former possessions in Ruthenia, but, by the several partitions of Poland, a century or so ago, had annexed also the most considerable portion of that kingdom.

It was by missionaries from Constantinople that the Ruthenians were converted in the days of Wladimir the Great, and accordingly they received the Greek rites in use at Constantinople, translated, however, into the Slavonic tongue; they passed likewise under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople. As in 988, the Church of Constantinople was still united with

Rome (for it was not till 1054 that Michael Cerularius inaugurated the great Eastern schism), the Ruthenians were originally in Catholic communion, nor do they appear even after 1054 to have withdrawn in any formal way from their allegiance to the Holy See. But, being dependent on an Eastern Patriarchate, they had never had much direct intercourse with Rome, from which they were separated by an immense distance; and so, as they continued to receive the confirmation of their Metropolitans of Kieff from Constantinople, they became, as time ran on, imperceptibly involved in its schism, as well as in the few dogmatic errors which had been elaborated to justify it. Nor was the condition of things materially altered when, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Ruthenians came under Lithuanian and Polish rulers. The Grand Dukes of Lithuania were as yet pagans, and did not trouble themselves overmuch about the religious opinions of their new subjects; and the Kings of Poland, being themselves of the Latin rite, were content with establishing a clergy of this rite in Galicia, where it worked side by side with the schismatic clergy, whose adherents it left undisturbed. In 1386, when the crowns of Poland and Lithuania were united under King Wladimir Jagellon, this King, having become a Catholic and received Baptism according to the Latin rite of his Polish wife, sought to put an end to the schism in his dominions; but his plan was that all should pass over to the same rite with himself, a plan which achieved a certain success with the nobles, but met with a stubborn resistance from the mass of the people.

The time, however, was now approaching when the general movement for reunion between East and West was to achieve its temporary success at the Council of

Florence. In this Council the Ruthenians were represented by their Metropolitan, Isidore, the well-known prelate who took so prominent a part in its proceedings, and was so largely instrumental in bringing about its happy termination. It was a special feature in the Act of Reunion of Florence that it recognized, as had never been done before, the folly of making the abandonment of those ancient rites an essential condition of reunion with the Holy See. It left the Orientals in the fullest enjoyment of their rites, which, after all, were quite regular in themselves, having been derived from the Church of Constantinople, which had used them with the fullest sanction of the Holy See for ages previous to the schism under Michael Cerularius. In their own churches the Ruthenians were still to follow these rites, just as the Latin Catholics, who were their Polish neighbors, were to follow their Latin rites; but, if adherents of either rite found themselves in a place where only churches of the other rite were accessible, they were free to participate in these other rites for the time being. This most reasonable concession tended strongly to recommend the Union to the Ruthenian Churches, and Isidore received a warm welcome on his return thither from Florence. But he was ill-received and even imprisoned by the Czar Basil when he chivalrously ventured in the cause of the Union to visit him at Moscow, and when he escaped after a two years' captivity, he found that the King of Poland had taken sides with the anti-Pope, Felix. Disheartened, he went back to Rome, and there ended his days, leaving the prospects of the Union in Ruthenia for the time apparently lost. They revived, however, shortly after on the appointment of Abbot Gregory to the Metropolitan See of Kieff, and for some eighty years from then, if the conditions were

not always regular, there was no decided renewal of schism. Then came the marriage of King Alexander of Poland with a daughter of the Czar, Ivan III. This Princess brought her schismatic priests with her, and used them as instruments for sowing schismatical ideas among the people. She also had influence enough gradually to fill the Lithuanian and Ruthenian Sees with Bishops of her own way of thinking. As, too, the Patriarchs of Constantinople were included in the Union at Florence, the subjection of the Ruthenians to their patriarchal jurisdiction had been left untouched. Thus on the return of the Patriarchs to schism it was difficult for the Ruthenians, apart from some formal act of refusal, not to become implicated; and so it was brought about that, by the second half of the sixteenth century, the state of schism in those parts had become completely re-established.

These are the antecedents to the history with which we are concerned, and it is necessary that we should bear them in mind. It is necessary also that we should have a distinct idea of the various factors of the social and religious situation at that time among the Ruthenians, now united governmentally to the Polish Lithuanian kingdom, but racially distinct from the Polish and Lithuanian populations. Whilst the Ruthenians had their own Oriental rites and hierarchy, with its dependence on the schismatic patriarch at Constantinople, and whilst churches and congregations of this rite were also distributed through Lithuania, the Poles were Catholics of the Latin rite. Poles, moreover, had migrated into Ruthenia and Lithuania, and there was established for their use in those parts a system of Latin Churches under a Latin hierarchy—so that in Ruthenia and Lithuania there were the two hierarchies working

side by side, one Latin and Catholic, the other Oriental and schismatic. The Ruthenians, too, were divided among themselves in their political sympathies, one portion being contented with the existing *régime*, and being well affected towards the Kings of Poland, the other portion looking rather to the Czar of Muscovy as to the ruler of Slavonic races more nearly akin to their own; and of course these political and religious forces acted and reacted on each other. It was the Czar's interest to encourage the schism, not merely on religious grounds, but as tending to strengthen his hold on the populations which he regarded as his own by right of their past, and which he intended on the first opportunity to annex to his sovereignty. The political interest of the Polish sovereigns was to detach their subjects from such leanings towards Moscow, but it did not follow that they should wish to encourage their reunion with the Holy See. Although if voluntarily and enthusiastically undertaken by the Ruthenian people a reunion movement would have been highly welcome to the Polish government, to press upon them a reunion for which they had no desire might tend, by creating a fresh grievance, to turn their thoughts all the more towards their kinsmen of Greater Russia. And it is this that the Kings of Poland previous to Sigismund III. seem to have feared. Accordingly, being political rather than religious in their predilections, they rendered no aid towards removing the scandal. And there were two more important factors in the situation which we must bear in mind if we wish to understand it. In the Lithuanian and Ruthenian provinces the power of the Crown was seriously limited by the immense power which was in the hands of the higher class of the nobility. These were few in number but were the possessors of enormous

estates, and had acquired the control of appointments to the Ruthenian benefices, episcopal as well as others. As they usually bestowed these benefices on their relations or adherents, any movement for reform which would eventually issue in reducing their patronage was bound to meet with their unscrupulous opposition. Add to this that in the earlier part of the sixteenth century the Protestant Reformation had gained many adherents among the Polish and Ruthenian nobles; indeed, according to the Jesuit Father Skarga, in the Palatinate of Novogrodek, at the end of the sixteenth century, out of six hundred families belonging to the Greek rite, all but sixteen or thereabouts had gone over to the ranks of Protestantism.

We may now pass to the history of the movement which resulted in a Corporate Reunion of the two Churches at the Council of Brest in 1596. Notwithstanding the importance of this event in regard to its influence on Russian and Polish religious history, little attention had been paid to it by the historians till within the last forty years, and in the defect of exact knowledge the prevalent opinion among both Ruthenian and Russian writers was that it was from beginning to end a work of the Jesuits. "The religious fanaticism of the Jesuits and of Sigismund III, who was entirely dominated by them, brought the Union upon the Ruthenians and with it all the fatal results which sprang from it." What is meant is that the Union was not voluntarily embraced by the Ruthenians, but was forcibly imposed on them by the King at the bidding of the Jesuits; and this is the view expressed in the legend on the medal struck by the Czar, Nicholas I, to commemorate the occasion when the greater part of these Uniat Christians were dragoonaded back into scism—

"separated in 1593 by hate, reunited in 1839 by love." But during the last forty years historical research has been active in Russia, and a wealth of materials bearing on the question of the Ruthenian Church has been recovered. It is on the basis of these newly unearthed documents that Bishop Likowski is able confidently to discard this traditional theory, and give a more correct account of the motives of the Union of 1596, and the methods by which it was procured—an account in recommending which he is in agreement with the Russian (Orthodox) writer, Professor Lewicki. Bishop Likowski does not deny that the Jesuits had their part in the movement, and their influence on its course. They had been established during the previous reign of Stephen Bathory, in a college which he founded for them at Wilna, the capital of Lithuania, and had since established other colleges elsewhere. As education was in the most miserable state among the Ruthenians, many of the schismatics sent their children to be educated in the Jesuit colleges, and in this way much prejudice against the Catholic Church was dispelled, though this good result was in some sense undone by the action of the Superiors of the college, who, when some of their pupils wished to forsake the schism, received them into the Latin rite. It was hard indeed to see how they could have done otherwise, as there were then no United Ruthenians of the Oriental rite to whom they could be sent. Still such a violation of the principle affirmed at Florence aroused intense indignation among the Ruthenian people, who viewed the converts as traitors and apostates; and it was obvious that such transitions from rite to rite must form a serious obstacle in the way of reconciliation, and should be deprecated whenever they could be avoided. In insisting on this point, as in rec-

ommending the Union by his fervent preaching and writing, the Jesuit Father, Peter Skarga, of Wilna, was especially prominent. In 1577, he published a work entitled: "On the Unity of the Church under one Pastor and the abandonment of this Unity by the Greeks," which made a deep and wide impression, and must certainly be reckoned among the causes which contributed to make the project of Reunion practicable: and in this work he lays the strongest emphasis on the necessity and propriety of preserving rites so orthodox in their character, and so venerable for their age and origin.

Several of his brethren followed Father Skarga in exposing the evils of schism, and exhorting the people to abandon it. But, according to Bishop Likowski, "they had no direct part, and very little indirect part, in the negotiations by which the Union of Brest was prepared, and had no part whatever in its accomplishment." Rather, he considers that in a certain sense they hindered it, by forsaking the policy of Skarga and Possevin, and continuing, most unfortunately, to allow their pupils to join the Latin rite.

Nor, according to Bishop Likowski, does the evidence now accessible lend any color to the insinuation that Sigismund III used force in procuring adhesion to the Reunion scheme.

He was fervent in his Catholic belief, and was undoubtedly the friend, the promoter and the defender of the Union, but the idea did not originate with him, nor did he try to force it upon the Ruthenian Bishops even when he had come to perceive its necessity; nor was there any need for him to force it on them, as the first impulse towards it had come from themselves . . . it may be reasonably doubted whether there has been

another government in Europe from that time to this which has granted so large a measure of freedom of action to its Bishops when occupied with a question of such importance for Church and State.

Indeed, such pressure as the Polish government did exercise was during the period when active opposition to the Union had developed, and then it was more in support of this opposition than in repression of it, as we shall see in due course.

It was, as Bishop Likowski has just told us, the Ruthenian Bishops themselves, or at least some of their number, who first realized the necessity of Reunion, and first took active measures for carrying the scheme into effect; and what aroused them to adopt this course was a profound sense of the miserable condition to which their Church was reduced, and of the impossibility of applying an effective remedy in any other way. As testifying to the state of the Ruthenian Church at the time, the book before us cites many contemporary authorities, mostly schismatic but some Catholic—all, however, agreeing absolutely in their accounts. The appointments to the Episcopate were practically in the hands of the Court or of the great nobles; and the last thing these patrons considered in their nominations was whether the candidates had the necessary qualifications of virtue and theological knowledge. In former times it had been the understanding that candidates for the Episcopate should be taken from the ranks of the monastic Orders, so that at least in the Episcopate the state of celibacy might be secured; but this rule was no longer observed. On the contrary, it was rare if the choice fell upon members of the clergy, the usual course being for the patrons to appoint some court secretary or treasurer, some needy nobleman or

personal friend, some old man who had worn out his strength, and sought only a position in which to spend his last days in affluent indolence. Nor was it unusual for these appointments to be given to the highest bidder, and a peculiarly flagrant scandal of this kind had disedified the country a few decades earlier than the time we are concerned with. Even before the See of Wladimir was vacant, the succession to it had been purchased in the Royal Chancery by Johann Borzobohaty Krasienski, a nobleman impoverished by his spendthrift habits, and Theodosius Lanowski, Bishop of Chelm. The moment the vacancy occurred the competitors rushed to the place, each wishing to be the first in possession. Krasienski arrived first, took possession of the Episcopal castle, which he bestowed upon his son, gave over the administration of the diocese to some laymen, and proceeded to celebrate his victory. But his victory was of short duration. Presently Bishop Lazowski came upon him with an armed troop, and not without bloodshed turned him out of castle and see. Even the King was offended at this violence, but Lazowski held his place, and Krasienski had to be compensated with the Bishopric of Luzk. This scandal was no doubt of unusual gravity, still it differed from what was ordinary only in degree, and one may imagine what kind of life such hirelings led, and what was the character of their administration. Their own preoccupation was to enrich themselves and their families at the expense of the Church revenues, nor did they hesitate to alienate even the sacred vessels and the bells, or whatever could be sold to the Jews, and bring in money. They cared nothing for their ecclesiastical duties, and did nothing to maintain discipline among the clergy. How could they, indeed, when their own lives were so

open to reproach? In distributing the benefices or conferring Orders they cared nothing about the qualifications of the candidates, but only about the fees or simoniacal gifts they could extort, nor did they make even the slightest provision for the education of those on whom their choice fell. Thus the clergy became the counterparts of the Bishops; they looked only to gain for themselves and their children; their churches remained closed, the sacraments were not administered, their pulpits were dumb—indeed, it was suggested that preaching was a bad custom invented by the Latins.

And as with the secular clergy so with the Religious Orders. As we have already had occasion to mention, the custom of the Oriental Church required that Bishops at least should be celibate, and hence they should be taken from the ranks of the monks. But this custom, among the Ruthenians of the seventh century, had fallen into desuetude, or was observed only as a pure formality (the laymen appointed to sees having to reside in a monastery for a short time before their consecration, and to wear its habit). Nor did the disregard of the Church's canons make much difference, as the superiors of the monasteries were usually appointed under the same conditions as the Bishops, and were disedifying and neglectful in their administration. At times they would eject the monks altogether, and turn the monasteries into capacious residences for themselves, their wives, and children; or, if the monks, supposed to be their subjects, remained in the monasteries, they practised no religious observance, they went about just as they pleased, and led scandalous lives—without their superiors making the slightest effort to check them.

That a clergy of this sort was unspiritual, and often downright immoral, in its mode of living, was only

what was to be expected, and they were the more exposed to this deflection from the ideals of their sacred office because, like the Bishops themselves, they were densely ignorant not only of secular learning, but even of the elementary doctrines of their own Creed. With such pastors it is not wonderful that the people should be grossly ignorant of the faith they were supposed to profess, and that their religious observance should be reduced to the mere formalism of attendance at ceremonies the internal spirit of which they neither considered nor understood. It could not be expected that they should have respect for their pastors, and, as a matter of fact, they had an utter contempt for them. And if in a large section of them the effect of this contempt was purely negative, another large section was induced by it to look elsewhere for a more edifying form of religion, some seeking it in the Catholicism of the Latin rite, and some in the Protestantism which was being sedulously preached by the Protestant professors that had been introduced into the schools.

Whilst, however, in their disgust at the condition of their own clergy, many were induced to turn their eyes towards other communions, there was a section of the people who were making efforts for a reformation from within. At the head of this section was Prince Constantine Ostrogski, of Ostrog, a magnate who, by reason of his immense wealth and vast possessions, held a unique position among the Ruthenians, and indeed among the subjects of the Polish Crown. His income was estimated at fifteen millions of Polish guildens, and his estates included the whole of Wolhynia, whilst he was patron of a thousand ecclesiastical benefices, including the Bishopric of Luzk-Ostrog. He was able, too, to gather round his standards an army of thirty thou-

sand men. With so powerful a subject the Kings of Poland must deal in a conciliatory manner, and this the more so, as he had recently placed them under a deep debt of gratitude by his patriotic sacrifice of blood and money for the preservation of Poland and its dominions from the attacks of the Czar, Ivan the Terrible. Prince Constantine Ostrogski had also been a prime mover in negotiating the Treaty of Lublin, of 1569, whereby the two kingdoms of Poland and Lithuania became not merely as they had been for some two centuries past, united in the person of their one sovereign, but likewise by a unity of government under one presiding senate. And this was another service rendered to the Polish sovereigns which they naturally appreciated, although it was largely due to the hopeless condition of the *Liberum Veto* which this Treaty introduced that the Polish kingdom was eventually overwhelmed by internal divisions, and fell an easy prey to its envious neighbors. Prince Constantine Ostrogski had the defects of an autocrat, but he was the recognized Patron of the Ruthenian Church, whose influence in regard to it counted for more than that of the Metropolitan of Kieff, and he took seriously to heart its forlorn condition.

At one time he had hoped for a reunion with the Latin Church, and in 1583 told the Papal Legate to the Court of Stephen Bathory that he would willingly give his life could he thereby obtain such a consummation. But he was then thinking of a reunion which, as at Florence, would include the entire Patriarchate of Constantinople, and was by no means prepared for a policy which would involve the separation of Ruthenia from this Patriarchate. Accordingly his measures for the reformation of the Ruthenian Church were practically confined to the establishment of an Academy at Ostrog for

the better education of clergy and laity, and, as unfortunately his own knowledge of the doctrines and history of his Church was most imperfect and erroneous, he brought into the country, as professors in this Academy, a class of men who were infected with Calvinistic opinions and used their opportunity mainly to sow heresies and excite animosities. The lead thus given by Ostrogski was followed by the confraternities of laymen which had originated a century and a half previously in Lemberg and Wilna, and about the time with which we are concerned had extended to the principal cities of Ruthenia and Lithuania. These confraternities, finding that the Bishops and clergy were so neglectful of their duties, had endeavored to supply for the deficiency by restoring the fabric and decoration of the churches, and supplying the means for a becoming celebration of the Divine Offices. They likewise imitated Ostrogski's example in founding academies at Lemberg and Wilna, and also unfortunately in staffing them with professors of questionable orthodoxy. To the evil effects thence ensuing were added others consequent to the claim gradually made by these confraternities, to rule the Bishops and clergy and interfere in their discharge of spiritual functions. For this invasion of the sanctuary by laymen led to frequent and bitter quarrels, which caused further scandal, and undid the good which might otherwise have resulted from the well-intentioned, if misguided, activity of the confraternities.

And to intensify the evils thus developed, came the visits of the Patriarch Joachim, of Antioch, in 1586, and of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Jeremias II, in 1589. It was the first time that any such high dignitaries of the Oriental Church had visited those northern regions, nor had the Patriarchs of Constantinople, to whose juris-

diction they belonged for a long time past, taken any interest in their spiritual condition. But things were then in a sad way at Constantinople itself, where the Patriarchs were completely enslaved by the Sultans, who invariably gave the appointment to the highest bidder; indeed, often kept two or three candidates running at the same time, displacing one and substituting another, and, again, perhaps restoring the first, according as one or another outbade his rival. It was thus necessary for the Patriarchs to be continually raising money to satisfy the voracity of their masters; and it was for this purpose that the two patriarchal visits of 1586 and 1589 were undertaken. The Patriarch of Antioch going merely as the delegate of the Patriarch of Constantinople. The Patriarch Joachim was made aware of the condition of the Ruthenian Church, and was solicited to take measures for its betterment, but the only use he made of his delegated power was to introduce another element of confusion by raising the Lemberg Confraternity to the dignity of a "Stauroptic" ¹ Order, thereby exempting it from the jurisdiction of the local Bishops, to the great indignation of the latter. The Patriarch Jeremias II went first to Moscow, where his presence had been solicited to establish a new patriarchate in that city. The Czar Feodor had asked for it, deeming that, as Constantinople had in ancient days been awarded a patriarchal see because it was the imperial city, his own capital had now established a similar title to the same distinction. And the Patriarch Jeremias was only too willing to accede to the demand, in the expectation that the Czar would reward him with a rich offering. It is

¹ So-called, because as a mark of their exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, the Patriarchal Cross (*σταυρός*) was affixed (*πλήγνυμι*) to the doors of their churches.

necessary to mention this episode of the establishment of a Patriarchate at Moscow, for it had its part in the development of the Reunion movement. The Czar's intention was to claim for the new Patriarchate a jurisdiction over the Ruthenian churches, which might thus be drawn into closer relationship with his own sovereignty; and just for this same reason the Polish King and his famous Chancellor, Zamoyski, became the more inclined to promote the cause of a reunion of these Churches with the Holy See. After transacting this business at Moscow, Jeremias II came to Ruthenia and stayed there some months. He received many warnings that unless he could do something effectual towards the disposition of the more unworthy pastors, and the reformation of the rest, he must look forward to a considerable secession to the Latin rite, the clergy of which were already working in the country, and giving much more edification by their conduct and zeal. Thus constrained, he deposed Onesiphor Dziewonka, the Metropolitan of Kieff, a prelate of scandalous life; and declared, without much sincerity, his intention to depose all similar ecclesiastics who, whilst living in bigamy or trigamy,¹ continued to exercise their sacred functions. But this was all he did which could in any way be considered for the advantage of the Ruthenian Church, although he took other steps which were most injurious to it. King Sigismund, at the suggestion of the Woiwode of Novgorod, had nominated Michael Rahosa, the Archimandrite of Minsk, to the vacant Metropolitan See. Rahosa was a man of blameless life but of weak character. He was afterwards induced to become one of the promoters of Reunion, and on this account Russian writers have inferred that King Sigismund, in appoint-

¹ That is, having married again once, or twice, after the death of their former spouses.

ing him, calculated that he would take this course. Bishop Likowski, on the authority of a modern Russian writer, Kojalowicz, judges that Rahosa was an anti-Unionist at this time. Still, it would appear that Jeremias II, though he consecrated him in deference to the King's wishes, was suspicious of him, for he proceeded to undermine his Metropolitan authority by the very extraordinary measure of raising Cyril Terlecki, the Bishop of Luzk, to the dignity of Exarch. No such dignity had been previously known in Ruthenia, but the effect of it was to give its holder jurisdiction over all the other Bishops, the Metropolitan included. Jeremias evidently hoped that he would thus secure in Terlecki the most capable and energetic of the Ruthenian Bishops, an ally on the spot who would resist strenuously any endeavor to sever the connection with Constantinople; we shall see, however, that he counted without his host. Another disastrous step taken by the Patriarch was to raise the Wilna Confraternity to the same Stauropegic rank to which, in his name, the Patriarch Joachim had raised the Confraternity at Lemberg. After having thus sown seeds of dissension in every direction, this unworthy prelate hastened back to Constantinople, where his three rivals were endangering his position by their growing influence with the Sultan. But he had contrived by his visit to give further spread and strength to the growing conviction among all classes of the Ruthenians that, if there were any source of hope for the recovery of their desolated Church, it must be sought elsewhere than at Constantinople.

At the head of this article we have called attention to the complications to which a Corporate Reunion movement is liable through the intermingling of human with spiritual motives, and evil with pure intentions, in

the agents who promote or impede it. It is a singular illustration of this law that the person who took the first direct step leading up to the Union of Brest was Gideon Balaban, a prelate so conspicuous for his scandalous life that his name had become a by-word. As Bishop of Lemberg he had become involved in bitter strife with the Confraternity in that city which, as we have seen, the crafty Patriarch Jeremias had exempted from his episcopal jurisdiction, and even set over him as superior, with the express object of promoting such domestic conflicts. The Patriarch had threatened to depose him unless he submitted in all respects to the Stauiropigic Confraternity, and Balaban's counter-step was to renounce his jurisdiction, and work for the reconciliation of himself and his fellow-Bishops, together with their flocks, with the successors of St. Peter. Accordingly he began by confidentially consulting Demetrius Solikowski, the Latin Archbishop of Lemberg. Solikowski, very naturally and properly, recommended him to broach the matter in similar confidence to Cyril Terlecki, the Bishop of Luzk, who, in virtue both of his force of character and his official position as Exarch, was, if he could be won over, the best fitted to lead the movement. Terlecki, having been so recently promoted by the Patriarch, must have felt a certain bias against the scheme of Balaban; but he was a very different style of man from Balaban, and was capable of rising above mundane considerations, and looking to the spiritual good of the Ruthenian Church. Still, he did not at once accede to the proposals made to him, and perhaps would have been long in doing so had it not been for the exhortations and persuasions of two others who had great influence over him. Of these one was Bernard Maciejowski, the Latin Bishop of Luzk. "Maciejowski," says

Bishop Likowski, "is conspicuous in the annals of the Catholic Church in Poland as a man full of the Spirit of God, a zealous pastor, and an ardent patriot." He was on terms of intimacy with his fellow-townsmen, Terlecki, and on the occasion of the Patriarch's visit had sought to obtain an audience with the latter through Terlecki's instrumentality. He had hoped to call his attention more effectually to the spiritual degradation of the Oriental Churches, and beseech him to take up again the good projects of his predecessors at Florence. The Patriarch had, however, avoided the interview, and since then Maciejowski had been solicitous with Terlecki that he should take independent action. The other personage whose influence told strongly with Terlecki was one who was destined eventually to take precedence of him as a leader in the movement. This was Adam Pociej, at the time the civil governor of Luzk. Pociej in his youth had been under Calvinist schoolmasters, and had been seduced by them into the adoption of their errors. He had returned, however, to the Church of his childhood, the Ruthenian schism, when he was about thirty. He was a good, earnest man, and if not well-versed, at all events better versed than most of his co-religionists, in the knowledge of their religion, and had learnt much of the principles of Catholicism through his intercourse as civil ruler with Bishop Maciejowski. He was also keenly sensible of the scandalous lives of the Ruthenian clergy, and the consequent forlorn condition of their flocks, as is made clear from his correspondence, some of which has been preserved, with Prince Ostrogski. Maciejowski had at length won over Pociej to see that the only remedy was in forsaking the jurisdiction of Constantinople and submitting to that

of Rome, and the two¹ were now working together to gain over Terlecki.

Terlecki being gained over to the good cause by these influences, an opportunity presented itself not long after for advancing its course a stage further. The Patriarch had prescribed that synods should be held year by year in some town conveniently situated; and in the year 1590, the year after his departure, the Metropolitan Rahosa summoned such a synod to meet at Brest, on June 24th. In anticipation of this gathering, a preliminary meeting was held at Belz, at which four Bishops were present, namely, Terlecki of Luzk, Balaban of Lemberg, Pelczycki of Pinsk, and Zbirujski of Chelm. Pelczycki and Zbirujski were somewhat better men than Balaban, but their standard of episcopal life could not have been high, as each of them, in the teeth of Eastern canon law, had contracted second marriages, in which they were living at the time. Still they may have had good intentions in the course they were about to take; and at least it was a pledge of their sincerity that they should wish for a reunion, one effect of which would necessarily be to separate them from their spouses. At all events, the four prelates named drew up and signed a document, in which they bound themselves by a common resolution to reject the Patriarch's jurisdiction and pass over to the Pope's.

"We desire [they say] to acknowledge as Pastor the Holy Father in the See of Rome, the sole chief pastor and successor of St. Peter, to recognize him as our

¹ Bishop Likowski raises the question whether a third party may not have had a good deal to say in gaining over first Pocij and then Terlecki. This was the Jesuit Father, Benedict Herbst, who resided in Maciejowski's house. It is most probable that he had a part in these negotiations, but no particulars of what he may have said or done have come down to us.

Head, and to be always subject and obedient to him. . . . We ask only that the ceremonies and institutions of our Church . . . may remain as they have been from ancient times in our Oriental Church, and may not be changed by the Holy Father in Rome; and also that our freedom may be secured to us by privilege from our gracious sovereign, to be later on confirmed in definite articles."

Keeping their act secret, the four signatories then went on to Brest, where they met the Metropolitan Rahosa, and Chrebtowicz, Bishop of Wladimir, so that the whole Ruthenian hierarchy as it then existed was present, with the exception of the Archbishop of Polozk and the Bishop of Przemyśl, whose absence was doubtless due to their advanced age. On the other hand, many laymen took part in the Synod, and among them Adam Pociej, the Governor, and many members of the Wilna and Lemberg Confraternities. The professed object of their meeting was to deliberate on and provide for the needs of their oppressed Church, and the members drew up a decree to this effect, in which they render additional testimony to the scandalous condition of their clergy. This document is chiefly notable, however, for the clause in which it refers to the "resolution which some of us Bishops composed and subscribed in this present year at Belz." The resolution thus obscurely indicated can only be the resolution of the four Bishops, in which they expressed their intention to submit to the Holy See; and yet the Synod goes on to say that it "confirms this resolution of Belz, and recognizes it as in all respects valid." This can only mean that the four Bishops who had met at Belz had communicated their scheme privately to the Metropolitan and the Bishop of Przemyśl and obtained their adhesion to it, but that they did not

think it safe as yet to make it known publicly. The complete document issued by the Bishops at Brest, that is, both the part referring to the existing evils and the clauses about reunion, was entrusted to Terlecki to lay before the King.

Terlecki, for reasons which can only be surmised, did not execute this charge till more than a year had intervened. When at last he did, the King wrote back a congratulatory letter, dated March 18, 1592, in which he also promised to protect them against the Patriarch's wrath and secure them in their present benefices should their purpose be accomplished. This, however, was all that was done in the matter till 1593, by which time Terlecki had gained a very earnest fellow-worker in Adam Pocij.

The transference of this excellent layman to the ecclesiastical sphere was due to the influence of Prince Ostrogski. From the correspondence between this Prince and Pocij, from which Bishop Likowski quotes in one of his chapters, it is clear that at that time the Prince, sensible of the evil state of his native Church, was sincerely anxious for its reunion with the Holy See, though it is clear also that his own ideas fell much below even the Ruthenian standard of orthodoxy, that he did not realize all that such a reunion would involve, and that, in stipulating as an indispensable condition of reunion that the entire eastern Church should join in it, he was demanding the impossible. Still he did sincerely desire it at the stage which we have now reached, and it was in the hope that Pocij might prove a capable instrument for its accomplishment that he used his influence with Pocij himself to enter the clerical state and accept, and with King Sigismund to offer him, the Protothronic See of Wladimir, just then vacant by the death of Bishop Chrebtowicz.

Although Adam Pociej, who now became known as Hypatius Pociej, was so well known to Terlecki from the part he had taken in inducing him (Terlecki) to take up the idea of a union, neither Terlecki nor the other Bishops who met at Brest, and who gave their sanction to the resolution framed at Brest, seem to have thought it prudent as yet to admit him into their secret. They continued, however, to develop their scheme, though, owing to various causes, it was not possible to hold the annual synod in 1593 or 1594. In the summer of 1594 Terlecki met Balaban, Zbirujski, and Kopystenski (the Bishop of Przemyśl) at Sokal, where they renewed the resolution of 1590, and embodied it in another document, which they signed themselves, and for which Terlecki, by December, 1595, had obtained the further signatures of the Metropolitan Rahosa and of all the other Bishops of the Province; Pociej alone, from whom it was kept secret, excepted. Pociej, moreover, was himself only a week or two later made acquainted by Terlecki with the whole negotiations, and, as might have been expected, entered cordially into the scheme, and was from that time onward in the front rank of its advocates.

On the other hand, Rahosa began now to play that double part by which he so nearly succeeded in wrecking the movement altogether. He had agreed to the same declaration in favor of union as Terlecki and the others, both in 1590 and in 1594, and in both years had attested his consent by his signature. And yet, in January, 1595, he wrote to the Woiwode of Novgorod, Theodor Tyskiewicz, telling him of the secret negotiations that were going on, speaking of himself as one who had so far hesitated what course to take, and asking for the counsels of the Woiwode, against whose desires he did not wish to act.

As the Woiwode did not answer him for four months, and then gave him only an equivocal reply, he was still hesitating, but on June 12, 1595, gave his signature once more to an important document to which we shall presently come. And yet in the September following we find him writing to Prince Ostrogski, earnestly deprecating the opinion held of him as of one who was prepared to sell his native Church to the Bishop of Rome. Other acts of similar duplicity must be laid to the charge of this unsatisfactory prelate, but enough has been said to illustrate his external attitude to the proceedings. If we further ask what were his real feelings about reunion, the probability is, in Bishop Likowski's judgment, that he was at heart in favor of it, for he was not a bad man, and was comparatively free from the scandalous mode of living which disgraced so many of his brethern. But he was timid, and was anxious to avoid on the one hand the displeasure of King Sigismund and his Chancellor, and on the other that of the great magnates like Tyskiewicz and Ostrogski. It is, however, a curious illustration of the misconceptions hitherto prevalent as to the secret machinery by which the Union of Brest was wrought out, that Rahosa should have been assumed to be the prime mover in the whole affair, he in turn being a mere blind instrument in the hands of his Jesuit educators.

Allusion has been made to the episcopal meeting at Brest, on June 10, 1595. On account of the tergiversations of Rahosa during the preceding six months, it was not possible to obtain the presence there of more than four Bishops; that is, of Rahosa himself, who had come reluctantly, of Terlecki, Pociej, Pelczycki, to whom was added Jonas Hohol, the Archimandrite of Kobryn. Nevertheless the decisive step was taken at this meeting. The assembled prelates there drew up two addresses, one

to Clement VIII, the other to King Sigismund. In the first they declared that, as the Patriarch of Constantinople would do nothing for the restoration of Church unity, they desired themselves, with the full assent of their sovereign, to return to the union which their ancestors had accepted from the Council of Florence; but they asked that they might be allowed to retain their ancient Oriental Liturgy and other rites; and they were sending Hypatius Pociej and Cyril Terlecki, as their plenipotentiaries, to the Holy Father to accomplish the reunion in the name of their whole Episcopate, their clergy, and the souls entrusted to God to their care. In the address to the King they acquaint the King with what they had written to Clement VIII, and ask in addition for his protection in the due carrying out of the union, as well as the concession of certain political privileges which should equalize their Bishops with those of the Latin rite, and so make the union more acceptable to the country. In this meeting itself the prelates present affixed their own signatures to the addresses, and Pociej and Terlecki promptly obtained those of the others. The King, when the address was sent to him, at once accepted all these conditions, so far as lay within his own power, promising for the rest to lay them before the Senate; and he warmly congratulated them on what they had done, and urged that the two deputies should make all possible haste in setting out on their journey to Rome, and when there in despatching a business of so much urgency.

But just then a very serious difficulty arose, and made it doubtful whether this journey to Rome should not be delayed indefinitely. Prince Ostrogski had learnt what was being secretly transacted between the Bishops and the Court, and took it ill that he should have been left out of their counsels. It might, no doubt, have been more

prudent to consult him, in view of his enormous power for good or evil, but, as we have seen, his ideas were somewhat heterodox, and he would have required that his own ideas should alone prevail. As it was, on learning how much he had been ignored, he became most indignant, and sought to avenge himself by wrecking the project of reunion altogether, although he had himself been anxious for it a short time before. He declared that the Bishops were playing the part of Judas, and that the King must be adjudged guilty of breaking his coronation oath, unless before taking any further steps he summoned a new synod—at which there must be the fullest representation of the laity—and obtained its free consent to the transaction. And when King Sigismund yielded reluctantly to the request, he set to work to convert the synod into an instrument for enforcing his views by violence. He played successfully by his bribes and threats upon the unscrupulous ambition of Bishops Balaban and Kopystenski, that he might be able to cite them as the loyal few among the Bishops, and he did not shrink from inviting the Calvinists to the synod to lend their aid in a resistance directed against Rome—promising them that he himself would attend the synod accompanied by an imposing escort of armed men, and that if that did not succeed in stopping the Romanizers, he would not shrink from stirring up an insurrection in the country. Under these circumstances King Sigismund became anxious, and caused his Minister, Zamoyiski, several of the Senators, the Papal Nuncio, Pocij and Terlecki, to meet together and consult on the best thing to be done. Some were of opinion that it would be best to delay the departure of the plenipotentiaries until Ostrogski could be gained over to more rational views. But the two plenipotentiaries argued that, serious as were the difficulties in the way of

their going to Rome at once, the difficulties on the other side were more serious still; that they could now count on the Bishops and a large section of the people, and on the majority of the clergy in their own dioceses; and that they had reason to hope that an important section of the nobles were with them at heart, though it had not been possible, in view of the necessity of secrecy, to obtain from them any formal expression of approval; also that they had their own souls to consider and those of their people, and could not consent to a further continuance of the schism.

By these and similar persuasions they won over the King and his Ministers, and induced them to run the risks which Ostrogski's action threatened. Accordingly, they started on their journey, towards the end of September, 1595, and reached the Eternal City safely on November 25th. Clement VIII had at one time been Nuncio at Cracow, and could understand the significance of the embassy which had come to him from those distant regions. He was intensely delighted and at once gave an audience and a warm welcome to the plenipotentiaries and their staff. He appointed some Cardinals to confer with them on the details of their commission, and on learning what these were, made no difficulty in accepting all the conditions asked for. He readily allowed them to retain the Slavonic tongue in their religious worship, and the Oriental rites they had inherited from the most ancient times. The one reservation which he made, and which the deputies freely accepted, was that nothing could be granted which involved dogmatic error; but, on being assured that in omitting the *Filioque* from the Creed they had no intention to depart from the dogma of the Trinity as understood by the Latins, he made no attempt to insist on the insertion of this phrase. Moreover, on learning how King

Sigismund had been requested to see that the Uniat Bishops had the same political rights as the Latin, he undertook to support the request by a special letter of exhortation to that Sovereign. All being thus satisfactorily arranged, on December 23d, the solemn act of reconciliation of the Ruthenian Church, as represented by its two deputies, was performed in the Vatican in the Hall of Constantine. In the presence of the Pope and his Court, the address drawn up by the Ruthenian Bishops at Brest, on July 12, 1595, and duly signed by them, was publicly read, after which one of the Cardinals pronounced a congratulatory speech, and then Pociej and Terlecki made their formal profession of faith in their own name and that of their Church. The Pope then gave a personal expression of his joy. This finished the public ceremony, and it only remained for the Cardinal Penitentiary to absolve the deputies and their principals from the censures incurred by schism, and to publish, as was done on the self-same day, the Bull *Magnus Dominus et mirabilis nimis*, which announced to the whole world the glad tidings of the important reconciliation effected.

Thus was accomplished this great Act of Corporate Reunion, so far as any formal act could accomplish it. But it is one thing for the representatives of a large population to undertake official engagements on its own behalf, and quite another to induce them to stand unanimously and cordially by its terms; and the events precedent to the mission of Pociej and Terlecki, which have been narrated, must have caused them to look forward with much anxiety to the sequel of the solemn act that was in itself so consoling. What this sequel was must be told in another article.

SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

The Month.

Ruthenia's Return to the Church.



II.

IN a previous article the history of the Reunion movement among the Ruthenians, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, was carried up to the point of the solemn ceremony of reconciliation in the Hall of Constantine on December 23, 1595. The Ruthenians were represented there by Bishops Pocij and Terlecki alone, but their act of submission to the Holy See, and their profession of faith in the entire Catholic creed, was of a corporate character inasmuch as they were acting under commission from the assembled hierarchy of the Ruthenian Church, who in the Synod at Brest of June 10th had authorized them to speak in their name, and had each and all subscribed the letter to Clement VIII which the two deputies were carrying with them; inasmuch, too, as the Bishops, in taking this course, were supported by a considerable section of their clergy and people. It was thus an act of Corporate Reunion which had been accomplished, so far forth as such an act was possible—for to restrict the name of Corporate Reunion to such acts on the part of official rulers and mouthpieces as could count on the unanimous or nearly unanimous approval of all the members of a corporate body, would be to give it a sense in which it never has been realized, and, in

view of the conditions of human nature, is never likely to be realized.

We have now to study the after-consequences of this momentous act. Pociej and Terlecki started on their return journey in February, 1596, and reached their native country in the following March. They brought with them from Clement VIII letters of congratulation, of fatherly exhortation and advice, addressed to King Sigismund, to the Metropolitan Rahosa and his suffragans, not excluding Gideon Balaban (who, though he had since yielded to the instances of Prince Ostrogski, had affixed his signature to the Synodal Letter of June 10, 1595); to the Bishops of the Latin hierarchies of Poland and Ruthenia; to the Chancellors, both of Poland and of Lithuania, and to several of the leading nobility. In these letters the Pope took pains to reassure all who might otherwise be anxious, of his willingness and even spontaneous readiness to sanction the preservation of the full Ruthenian rites, and of all their formularies, unless in any point they should be found to differ from the unalterable Catholic faith; he also exhorted the King and all whom it might concern to admit the Ruthenian Bishops to an entire equality of political rights and privileges with the Bishops of the Latin rite; and finally ordered the speedy convocation of another Synod in which the act of Pociej and Terlecki might be formally ratified.

Thus fortified, these two prelates were sure of a warm welcome from the King and other friends of the Union, but were sure, also, of encountering the bitter hostility of the powerful Prince Ostrogski, and the spirits he had gathered round him. At once on their arrival in Ruthenia this Prince began to organize his campaign of resistance. The Reichstag was due to meet at Warsaw

in May, and the Landtags of the different provinces must meet previously and elect their representatives for that great central parliament. In Ruthenia these Landtags were practically in the hands of Ostrogski, besides which they were largely composed of persons with Protestant leanings. It was not difficult, therefore, to provide a compact body of deputies to demand from the Reichstag the undoing of the acts of Pocij and Terlecki, and their deposition from office and punishment. And this was done. The demand proved, indeed, unsuccessful, in spite of the hot words of Ostrogski and his veiled threats, but he was too powerful a subject for King Sigismund to suppress, and he returned home only the more determined to accomplish his purpose. Soon his printing presses began to spread over the country a flood of pamphlets in which the purport of the Union was seriously misrepresented, and the Uniat Bishops were accused of having betrayed their flocks. In composing and circulating this polemical literature Ostrogski was powerfully aided by the Confraternity of Lemberg, the members of which had a special interest in resisting the Union, inasmuch as its introduction involved the re-establishment of ecclesiastical jurisdiction on canonical lines, and the abolition of their preposterous intrusions into the spiritual sphere. It was in connection, too, with this press campaign, that the notorious Stephen Zizania first came into prominence. Much more of a Calvinist than an orthodox schismatic, he had quite recently been condemned for heresy by the Synod of Novgorod but, this notwithstanding, he was appointed to be the head of the pamphleteers, and he sent out publications in which the distinctive errors of Luther were paraded as traditional doctrines of the Ruthenian Church, which the Romanizers were trying to suppress. To correct all

these misrepresentations King Sigismund on June 14th published a "message to the Ruthenian clergy and laity," in which he assured them that Pocij and Terlecki had merely carried out a commission entrusted to them by the entire Ruthenian hierarchy, and that the union with the Holy See, which had been thus officially accomplished by their spiritual rulers, was but a re-establishment of the intercommunion with the Western Church which had prevailed for a length of time in former centuries. The King also announced the coming meeting on October 8th of another Synod at Brest, in which the Ruthenian Bishops proposed to ratify the Acts done by their representatives at Rome.

This Synod should have met earlier in the year, but the Metropolitan Rahosa had continued to speak with uncertain voice, and was anxious to delay an occasion when he would be forced to declare himself definitely for one side or the other. By the date mentioned, however, he had decided to cast in his lot with the Union. He was joined at Brest by all the other members of the Ruthenian hierarchy save the two deserters, Balaban of Lemberg, and Kopystenski of Przemyśl; that is, by Pocij, Bishop of Wladimir; Terlecki, Bishop of Luzk; Hermogenes, Archbishop of Polozk; Hohol, now Bishop of Pinsk; and Zbirujski, Bishop of Chelm; also by Solikowski, Archbishop of Lemberg; Maciejowski, Bishop of Luzk, and Gomolinski, Bishop of Chelm, prelates of the Latin rite. These formed the Council proper, but there were added to them as Consultors, Peter Skarga and Justin Rab, two leading Jesuits, as likewise one or two others, together with three Ruthenian Archimandrites. It will be noticed that there were no laity at this Synod—that is, as members or consultors—the reason being that King Sigismund had expressly forbidden the laity to interfere

in what was regarded as a purely spiritual question. But Ostrogski and his partisans had prepared an anti-Synod, which met in the same city at the same time, and in this the lay element was predominant. Twenty-three deputies from the Provincial Diets, fourteen from the Confraternities of Wilna, Lemberg, and several other places, attended it. Of the clergy, it could boast of a number of beneficed priests and one or two Archimandrites, but of Bishops, only Balaban and Kopystenski; unless, indeed, we are to include the Metropolitan of Serbia, who of course had not *locus standi* to justify his presence. Two other foreigners were also present, Cyril Lukaris and Nicephorus; of these, Cyril Lukaris, who is well-known for his negotiations with the Anglican Archbishop Abbot in the reign of James I, was a Greek ecclesiastic with Calvinistic tendencies, who a short time previously had taught in the Academy of Ostrog, and now came over to Poland as the delegate of Meletius Pigas, the Patriarch of Alexandria. Nicephorus professed to be the delegate of the Patriarch of Constantinople, but it is by no means clear that he had a claim to be thus regarded. The schismatic see of Constantinople was at that time vacant, as it had been for two years back, and any such commission granted by the last Patriarch must have lapsed with the Patriarch's death. Nor does Nicephorus seem to have had any such commission to show. All that was certainly known of him, was that more than a year previously he had taken himself off from Constantinople, where he was accused of embezzlement, and that he had since been residing in Moldavia, and engaging in political intrigues against the Polish monarchy. Such a personage must have seemed not very suitable as president of a national Synod; nevertheless, it was he whom Ostrogski chose to preside over his

anti-Synod. When, then, it is added, that to these "orthodox" members were joined twenty Protestants, and that the place of meeting was a Protestant church, it may be judged how far this rival gathering bore the semblance of a regular Synod.

The anti-Synod began its proceedings by citing the Uniat Bishops to appear before it and submit to its judgment; and this citation, which the Uniats naturally ignored, was twice repeated, as the essential preliminary to a sentence of excommunication and deposition. But meanwhile the Royal Commissioners, Radziwill, Sapieha, and Halecki, had arrived in the town, and at once sought out Ostrogski to call him to account for what he had been doing. They treated him still, as always, in a conciliatory manner, but made it a special reproach against him that, whereas he had sent in a supplication to the King some weeks previously, earnestly exhorting him to command that none should come to the Synod attended by an armed escort, he had now come himself with a formidable escort of armed men. Ostrogski could only offer in excuse the lame pretence that he had done it merely to secure that the peace should be kept, but the excuse was accepted, and it was also arranged that there should be a conference between the two parties.

This conference took place on October 8th at Ostrogski's house, and was opened by the Royal Commissioners, who assured all present that, though the King had not ventured to suggest, much less to prescribe, to the Ruthenian prelates a reunion with the Holy See, he had been filled with joy when he learnt that this very scheme had been resolved upon by the Bishops of their own accord, and almost unanimously—that is, Balaban and Kopystenski included. They also reminded Ostrogski that he had himself been anxious for just such a reunion

only a decade previously, and that on the recent return of Pociej and Terlecki from Rome he had demanded of the King the convocation of just such a Synod as had now met in the Church of St. Nicholas. The prince had indeed asked that it should be permitted a perfect security and freedom of deliberation, and that hence none should be allowed to approach it accompanied by armed men; as likewise that Nicephorus the Greek and certain Protestants should be allowed to attend it, and that an appeal from its decrees should be allowed, if desired, to the Reichstag. The third and fourth of these conditions had been impossible to grant, as the Reichstag was not competent to decide on an essentially spiritual question, and the persons indicated could have no lawful title to be admitted, whilst Nicephorus was even a man suspect of having come to play the Turkish spy on their Polish fatherland. But the King willingly granted the other two conditions, and they repeated the expression of their surprise that it should be Ostrogski himself who had brought an armed band into the town. The Commissioners also in the King's name expressed surprise that a body of his orthodox subjects should not only hold off from the canonical Synod, but should go the lengths of holding an anti-Synod; and still more that they should show themselves so anxious to perpetuate the rent in the body of Christ, and should prefer to consort with heretics, and meet in an heretical place of worship, rather than take part with their own brethren in the faith, in an endeavor to heal a schism which had been the cause of so much scandal and spiritual degradation to their people.

To this Royal admonition the members of the anti-Synod sent their reply the same evening. It corresponded with the position which Ostrogski had taken up

from the beginning, that is, from the beginning of his opposition to the enterprise of Pociej, Terlecki and the other Bishops. It did not venture to oppose the idea of Reunion in its substance. On the contrary, it claimed that its signatories were as anxious for such a consummation as the Bishops or the King. Only it contended that a Reunion based on unsound principles could not be lasting, and that sound principles required that the entire Eastern Church should act together; accordingly that the Patriarch's consent and co-operation was indispensable, all the more, as there were several difficulties about faith needing to be overcome. Also, it represented that the persons who had been instrumental in carrying through this present attempt at Reunion were such as did not command their confidence and respect. Such were the terms of their reply to the King's Commissioner, and simultaneously with its sending the anti-Synod addressed their third summons to the Metropolitan and Bishops to appear before them, and even, on receiving from the latter the inevitable refusal, had the arrogance, laymen and simple priests as they nearly all were, to pass a formal sentence of excommunication and deposition from office on the victims of their displeasure.

It was now clear that further efforts to conciliate the opposers of the Union, or to engage them in any rational discussion of the propriety of the measure, could lead to no useful results. The only question that remained for the partisans of Reunion to consider was as to whether they should go on with their enterprise, and brave the hostility of the Ostrogski party, or whether they should renounce it as now impracticable. The choice must have seemed difficult, for in the teeth of so powerful and determined an opposition how could they hope to carry their people with them; and yet, on the

other hand, they had a considerable section of their flocks behind them, and besides, this was a question of conscience, of holding on to the unity of the Church or falling back into schism. Accordingly, they determined to persevere in their purpose, and the very next day after the reception of the anti-Synod's protest they proceeded to the solemn act of ratification for which they had met together in Synod. On October 9th the Bishops, accompanied by the Papal and Royal delegates, went in procession to the Church of St. Nicholas, whither they were followed by a large gathering of people. The Metropolitan Rahosa sang Mass according to the Ruthenian rite, and when it was over Hermogenes, Archbishop of Polozk, ascended the pulpit, and in the name of the assembled Bishops read aloud a declaration on which they had previously agreed, one which gave a complete account of the various steps they had taken, up to the final ratification of the Union by a decree of their present Synod, and justified them by an elaborate exposition of their motives. When the Archbishop had concluded, a touching ceremony followed. In testimony of their reconciliation with one another, and in expression of their mutual joy, the Bishops present, of both Greek and Latin rite, embraced one another, and then passed on in procession to the principal Latin church of the town, there to join in singing the *Te Deum*. When this was done a melancholy duty still remained to be discharged, that of excommunicating Gideon Balaban and Michael Kopystenski, as well as Nicephorus and all who had taken part in the anti-Synod. The Bishops then separated, having deputed Pocij and Terlecki to deliver their report of the proceedings to the King, and to beg his protection.

Naturally the opposition party put forth a protest against this decree of ratification, and it bore date the self-same day, October 9th. As coming from an assembly which professed to have a synodal character it ran strangely in the name of "We, Senators, dignitaries, office-holders, knights, and clergy of the Greek Confession, sons of the Oriental Church, here at Brest in Synod assembled." They complain that the obnoxious proceedings have been carried through by men whom they had themselves excommunicated and deposed only the day before, and they protest that they will never accept as valid or binding this pretended Union, but, on the contrary, will oppose it and withstand it by God's help with all their strength, and at the cost of every personal sacrifice.

Other documents of similar intent were sent out by either side. The anti-Synod sent an address to the King, complaining of the action of his Commissioners and beseeching him to set aside the Union by his royal authority, and dispossess its authors of their sees and endowments. And the King wrote back refusing to do anything so unjust and fully endorsing what had been done by the Commissioners. The King also wrote to the Metropolitan and Bishops, offering them his congratulations, and promising them the royal protection and support. One thing, however, was wanting in this royal letter, the concession to the Ruthenian Bishops of an equality of civil rights, and particularly of the senatorial dignity, enjoyed by the Latin Bishops. This, it will be remembered, the Uniat Bishops had urged as important, and so had Clement VIII in his letter to King Sigismund. And so it was, for, deprived of this right, as the sequel showed, the Uniat Bishops, when the calumnies and complaints against their conduct were brought before the

Reichstag, were without a voice in that assembly with which to explain and defend themselves. But the fact was that Sigismund's power in such a matter, though nominally absolute, was practically very limited, and was insufficient to withstand the opposition alike of the Protestant senators who were animated by anti-Roman animosities, and the Latin Catholic senators, who looked down on the Ruthenians as of a lower social class. Another document to which the opposition of the anti-Synod gave birth was the Encyclical Letter addressed by Nicephorus the Greek to the Ruthenian clergy, whom he claimed to command in the name of the (still non-existent) Patriarch of Constantinople, and whom he called upon to separate from the Uniat Bishops, and choose for themselves other Bishops and Metropolitan. King Sigismund had tolerated all the proceedings of the counter-Synod so far, without attempting to place any restrictions on their liberty of action, but a letter like this, inciting his subjects to revolutionary action, and coming from one who not only had no colorable claim to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Ruthenia, but was held on strong presumptions to be a Turkish spy, was more than his Majesty could stand. He ordered the arrest of the pretender, and his trial by the District Court for the two offenses of usurped authority and of spying. Even then he showed his forbearance, and at the instance of Ostrogski and on his recognizances allowed the man to go free till the meeting of the Reichstag in the following year. Then, however, his trial came off, and he was condemned to a term of imprisonment at Marienburg, from which Ostrogski was unable to deliver him, and under stress of which he died shortly after.

Thus the party of the Union had passed victoriously through the struggle of the moment, for it had effected

that official ratification of its proceedings by the governing body of the Ruthenian Church which Ostrogski and his followers had striven by might and main to prevent. Still the prospects of the Union must have seemed dark to its upholders, as they measured the forces arrayed against it in the fierce opposition it had just experienced, and they would have seemed darker still could they have foreseen all the fiery experiences through which it would have to pass during the course of the incoming century. It is the history and character of the long conflict which must next engage our attention, if we are to estimate by this present instance the peculiar difficulties and dangers incident to any movement for Corporate Reunion.

We have seen how Pociej and Terlecki, when on the eve of their departure for Rome they were asked by the King and his ministers what amount of support they could count on receiving from their flocks, had replied that an important section of the nobles, the majority of the secular clergy, and the mass of their people would stand by them. They would not have said this unless they had believed it, and—although it is always a most difficult thing to ascertain correctly the underlying sentiments of large populations—they could hardly have believed it unless they had some groundwork of facts beneath their inference. And we can see to some extent what this groundwork was. That the townsmen of the middle class would be predominantly against them they must have known, because these were included in or dominated by the Confraternities whose exaggerated ecclesiastical pretensions were at stake, and who were, besides, considerably affected by the anti-Popery leaven infused into them by the Calvinist teachers in their Academies. That the peasantry would follow them they might reasonably suppose, because these were simple people who,

as long as they saw no change, as they would see none, in their religious doctrines and ceremonies, and the administration of their sacraments, were not likely to be irritated by the mere fact of an intercommunion now established with the Holy See, and would readily follow their pastors in the amelioration of life and zeal which the Union would introduce; all the more as they were angry and disgusted by the widespread scandals and corruptions which had been prevalent among their clergy during the schism. That the clergy themselves would follow their Bishops, or at all events the better-disposed among them, they may have gathered from the close resemblance between the clergy and the people, for the former were little less uneducated than the latter, and coming from the same class were prone to share the same ideas. Still in any case there is, as regards the clergy, testimony(1) to the fact that until the Council of Brest, and until the strategy of the opposition began to tell upon them, their sympathies were with the Union, not with the schism. It was the nobles, however, on whom most would depend, as the people, and even the clergy, were almost entirely in their hands; and apart from Wolhynia and the Ukraine, where Ostrogski's influence was the strongest, the Ruthenian nobility was in favor of the Union. They above all, though by their misuse of their patronage they were so seriously responsible for it, were weary and ashamed of the degraded condition of their native Church. Whole families from among them had been passing almost daily from the Greek to the Latin rite, and even those who held firmly to their native rite had fallen under the influence of the Polish Catholic nobles who were their neighbors, and

(1) See *Union zu Brest*. Von Bischof Eduard Likowski, p. 180.

so had lost much of their inherited antipathy to Latinism. Even in Wolhynia there was an important section of the nobles whom Ostrogski could not draw to his side, as may be gathered from the fact that in 1598 thirty-four schismatic nobles—among whom were Stanislaus Radziwill, George Czartoryski, Michael Myszkza, Abraham Myszkza and John Hulewicz—declared themselves openly for the Union, and petitioned King Sigismund not to let this Union, which they had thanked him for introducing, fall through out of regard for the discontent of some few. And in 1603 fifteen more Wolhynian noble families came over to the Union—among them Tyszkiewicz, the Woiwode of Novgorod, and the man who came next to Ostrogski in wealth and power.(1) We have it, too, says Bishop Likowski, "even by the testimony of Russian writers, that if the aged Prince Ostrogski(2) had remained true to his original desire, and had joined with the Bishops in accepting the Union, its cause would have met with no serious difficulty, either from the nobility, the clergy, or the people, and the sporadic utterances of discontent which might, perhaps, have come from the Stauropigic Confraternities, would soon have been silenced."(3)

That, however, was not to be. When the Synod was over this prince and his followers began at once to re-adjust their plans to the altered situation. Their object was still to obtain the deposition and punishment of the Uniat Bishops, for they justly perceived that, if this end could be attained, the life-spring of the movement would be dried up. And to achieve this end they relied in the

(1) Likowski, p. 245.

(2) He was nearly ninety years old at the time of the Synod.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 194.

first place on their campaign of misrepresentation into which they proceeded to infuse a fresh vigor and bitterness. Once more the printing-presses of Ostrog and of the Confraternities were made busy, and works like that of the Socinian Bronski, the author of the *Apocrisis*, were quickly spread over the country. On two points this literature incessantly insisted, that the Union was a plot to abolish the ancient Ruthenian rites and even to change its doctrines, substituting for them those of the Roman Church; and that the intention of the Unionists was to persecute all those who would not fall in with their views. It was of course untrue, and indeed, as regards doctrine, it was the Ostrogski party who were really guilty of innovating, inasmuch as in their gross ignorance of the history of their own Church, they kept attributing to it heresies which they had learnt from their Calvinist teachers. Nor could this party have been unconscious that in making these charges, they were guilty of misrepresentation, in the face of so many disavowals and protests on the part of the Pope, the King, and the Unionists themselves. It was simply that they meant to misrepresent, feeling that by this means they would be best able to arouse an antipathy for the Union in the minds of the people; and realizing that a party which is rich enough and strong enough can usually gain acceptance for its misrepresentations in the minds of an uninstructed population, if only it will state them skillfully, spread them widely, and persist in them for a sufficient length of time. And so it soon proved to be in their case.

"The secular clergy [says Bishop Likowski, on the authority of Harasiewicz's *Relatio de Laboribus Unitorum*], which until the Synod of Brest had been generally on the side of the Union, was led under the in-

fluence of the agitators, to adopt a hostile attitude to the Uniat Bishop, the regular clergy followed suit with few exceptions, as did likewise the majority of the people and of the Ruthenian nobility, as is attested by the report on the state of the Union sent to the Roman Propaganda by Bishop Susza."(1)

The further effect of this flood of calumny on the clergy and people was to prompt deeds of violence on several occasions, as when Rahosa, on visiting his diocese, was greeted with a hail of stones, and to wrest from the control of the Bishops the majority of the churches and monasteries; but on the Reichstag and the Courts of Justice its effect could be only indirect. Directly to influence these tribunals and induce them to depose the Bishops, Ostrogski, in 1599, arranged a confederation between the Schismatics and the Protestants. It was a log-rolling agreement into which these two parties entered, each engaging to help the other to promote its own advancement and the downfall of the Uniats. By this means Ostrogski was enabled to command a majority in the Provincial Diets, and so to send an imposing body of representatives to the annual Reichstags at Warsaw; and by this means also he was enabled to command a majority of the judges in the Court of Appeal of Lithuania, to which Court all suits affecting the Unionists could be carried up from the inferior courts when thought expedient, and any displeasing judgments of the latter over-ridden. Thus equipped, he addressed his fresh demand for the deposition of the Bishops to the Reichstag of 1600. But this contingent from Ruthenia were unable to outvote the contingent from Poland proper, and the latter was influenced by a speech of

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 180.

Pociej, now the Metropolitan of Kiew, who being himself a senator by right of his former secular position, was able to use this occasion for a formal refutation of the insinuation that they wished to change any of their former rites or doctrines and for a demonstration of the justice of the Uniat position.

“Did not your Majesty [he said, in his speech on this occasion], bestow on me the See of Wladimir, and did not the Woiwode of Kiew (Ostrogski) beg me with tears to accept it? And since the death of the Metropolitan Rahosa, have you not called me to the Metropolitan See? What precedent is there in our kingdom for deposing from his office any one who has been duly appointed when there has been no legal offense. . . . (And what legal offense had there been)? From the Patriarchs of Constantinople they had never received either doctrine or good discipline. When these had come into their midst it was like wolves, to bring neither peace nor unity, but only contentions. To the mere laymen, who formed the Confraternities, they had given, contrary to all the laws of the Church, an exemption from Episcopal jurisdiction and even Episcopal power; and the result had been that even the simple peasantry had been taught to despise both their masters and their Bishops; and divisions, quarrels, and scenes of blood had been the inevitable outcome. Nor had the Uniates introduced any innovation. They had only returned to their legitimate past. One hundred and fifty years previously his own ancestor had at the Council of Florence recognized the Bishop of Rome as the Chief Shepherd of the Universal Church, and had rendered him obedience. Moreover, the Polish Kings had conceded to the Ruthenian Church its laws and its liberties long before the infidel Sultan had got the Patriarchs into his power and put on the

Greek imperial crown. And now, when this infidel held the sceptre of temporal rule and appointed incumbents to the Patriarchal See according to his mere pleasure, was it not their duty to break loose from such Patriarchs, who, being nothing but slaves, were incapable of aiding them to salvation?"

As addressed to a civil assembly, which must judge the matter from a civil standpoint, and as coming from a man like Pocij, who in renouncing a civil for an ecclesiastical career had made a considerable sacrifice of his temporal interests, a speech like this could not fail to have weight, and Ostrogski had to go away with his demands unsatisfied; nor were they more successful in the Reichstag of 1603, when he brought them forward once more. On the other hand, in the courts of justice he did achieve a certain success, for in 1605 the Appeal Court of Lithuania ventured to pass *in contumaciam* a sentence of condemnation and of deposition on Pocij and his suffragans. It was unable, indeed, to carry its sentence into effect, as the King refused to confirm a sentence which it was beyond the competence of a temporal court to pass; but the Ostrogski party were able to make capital of it, as evidence of what so important a court thought of the justice of their campaign. And in 1607 they gained another advantage. In 1606, a seditious rising directed against the sovereignty of Sigismund III broke out in the province of Cracow, under the leadership of its palatine, Zebrzydowski. It did not originate from any religious motive, but from private grievance of this personage. But the Protestants of Poland were glad enough to utilize the opportunity which seemed to offer of dethroning a Catholic King, and Ostrogski was not ashamed to march to their aid, with a large body of Wolhynian troops. Thus the religious

question became involved in the quarrel, and the rebels made it an essential element in their program that the Union should be undone, the Bishops dispossessed, and the appointments to all Ruthenian benefices be henceforth conceded to noblemen of the Greek faith in union with the Patriarch. The rebellion was suppressed. The Ruthenians, when it came to the point, were reluctant to engage in open warfare with their Sovereign, and the upstart being left with only his Protestant followers to support him, sustained a signal defeat in 1606. Still King Sigismund was too much pressed by dangers, external and domestic, to profit fully by his victory. He was still at war with the Swedes about Livonia; and, moreover, had his attention occupied with the state of affairs in Russia, where the movement which had raised the Pseudo-Dmitri to the imperial throne, was reaching its most critical moment. Nor was he just then on the best of terms with his own Senate at Warsaw, and was the more anxious in consequence to conciliate the Ostrogski party in Ruthenia. Hence he agreed in the Reichstag of 1607 to bestow none of the Ruthenian greater benefices save on persons belonging to the Ruthenian nobility and "*meræ religionis Græcæ*," and to maintain the Confraternities in their rights and privileges. Also, in the Reichstag of 1609, he agreed to an addition to this enactment, by which the non-vacant benefices were to remain with those who at the time were in possession of them, and the two sides must respect each other's rights in this regard, but in case of dispute must go by the decision of the court *compositi judicii*—that is, which was composed of an equal number of clergy and laity, four of each. Neither of these two decrees was in itself injurious to the Uniats, but the terms used were ambiguous, and it was open, in the

defect of any authentic declaration, for the schismatics to interpret the term "*meræ religionis Græcæ*" as denoting only members of their own party. Moreover, the clause about the Confraternities could be utilized, as it was, as sanctioning their activity, which was now mainly directed against the Union, and in the clause about possession of benefices, it was left undefined whether actual or lawful possession was meant. Thus the dissidents were able to profit by the very acts of violence by which they had forcibly driven out their rivals, and they did not hesitate to disregard the clause assigning a particular court for the settlement of disputes, and brought their cases before the Appeal Court of Lithuania, in which they were certain of compliant judges.

Accordingly a good deal of loss to the Union followed from the promulgation of these equivocal decrees, particularly at Wilna, the capital of Lithuania, and residence of the Metropolitan. In Southern Ruthenia, the centre of Ostrogski's influence, the Union had already lost; indeed, had never obtained much possession of the churches; but in spite of the virulent hostility of the Confraternity at Wilna, the Union had acquired a hold on the clergy of that city. Now, however, the immediate effect of the decrees of 1607 and 1609 was that the clergy of this city, who had been misled by the calumnious publications, took heart to disassociate themselves altogether from the Metropolitan. Only the church and monastery of the Holy Trinity remained to him, and a plot was formed which all but succeeded in wresting even that from his hands, two men of his own rearing, one the Archimandrite who had been set over the community there, being leaders in the treacherous design. The King, indeed, presently arrived on the spot and caused the captured churches to be restored, but the

spirit which led to their capture was still persistent, and Pocij, who hastened to the city after the closure of the Reichstag of 1609, found that the disaffection had spread to the neighboring towns of Minsk, Grodno, and Novogrodek, and in fact to the whole of Lithuania. Even his life was threatened; indeed he barely escaped death by the sword of an assassin in the streets of Wilna on August 10, 1609.

We have had to speak of Pocij only from among the Bishops as engaged in the defense of the Union against all this powerful opposition. It is because he was in fact alone in resisting its assaults. For whatever reason Terlecki, capable as he was, seems to have retired into obscurity as soon as the Council of Brest was terminated. And the other suffragan Bishops who subscribed the act of Union were always nonentities, whilst of Rahosa, who survived till 1599, nothing heroic was ever to be expected. Thus it was Pocij, and he only, who was the real founder of the Union. He must have felt very lonely on seeing himself thus unsupported, but his spirit was dauntless and single-minded, and his capability was great. He could not hope under the adverse conditions in which he lived to achieve any extended success in organizing the Uniat ministry, and gathering the people around it. But he did an invaluable work in vindicating its legal and spiritual title before the Reichstag and Courts of Justice, and in the minds of the Polish Sovereign and Government; and in the Monastery of the Holy Trinity at Wilna he inaugurated a monastic reform, which, though he was not spared to see it through more than its first infancy, turned the house into a nursery whence a regenerated clergy would eventually spread through the country. He survived till 1613, and thus had the consolation of living into the commencement of

a period of respite for his afflicted Church, which, though it lasted but eleven years, was very precious, as enabling it at last to lay the foundation of its future spiritual success—for in 1609 Prince Constantine Ostrogski, who had lived nearly into his hundredth year, was at length called to his account. The grim old chieftain remained fixed to the last in his misguided sentiments; but he must have felt that he had failed in his purpose of destroying a Union which had been formed apart from his co-operation and consent. It was still persisting, and if the weight of his own personal power and influence had been so far effective in staying its progress, he could not but realize that the opposition he had sustained would be likely to die with him. In his own family he was leaving none to continue his policy; on the contrary, his three sons had themselves become Catholics of Latin rite. The Confraternities had an independent interest in the persecution, and would continue it in the towns, but the nobility were weary of it and would be glad to desist from it within their own spheres of influence, and if the nobility held their hand the people would become readily amenable to their pastors, and then to the Bishops. Moreover, the Protestant party in the country had been practically destroyed by the failure of its rising under Zebrzydowski.

SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

The Month.



Origin of Gregorian Chant





Origin of Gregorian Chant



EVER since the Benedictines of Solesmes began their celebrated archaeological work for the restoration of Gregorian chant, but especially since the promulgation of the *Motu Proprio*, the question which largely occupies the attention of the religious and ecclesiastical world is: What is the traditional music of the Church which Pius X is about to bring back into use?

It would be difficult indeed to discuss all the commentaries to which the *Motu Proprio* has given rise; all the reports which have been published about the artistic congress in Rome and the centenary feast of St. Gregory by the journals, reviews, periodicals of every language and every country; and especially the work of that most interesting and instructive Congress which was held a short time ago on the Isle of Wight for the study of this absorbing subject. The reason of all this enthusiasm is that ecclesiastical chant occupies an important place in the liturgy and plays a rôle which is interwoven into the life of the Church.

Is it not, indeed, the most striking, the most suggestive and the most eloquent part of our ceremonies? Is it not the most impressive feature of the liturgical drama? What better than it reaches the depths of the soul and excites the profoundest emotion. The pious layman who follows the text of the sacred functions in his missal, while these chants in the choir are borne to his ears, receives the impress of the truth which his reading con-

veys, and at the same time experiences in his soul, through the melodies which he hears, a sweet and salutary emotion which makes truth more sensible and more luminous, which touches his heart, frees him from earthly things and lifts him gently and sweetly towards heaven.

The Gregorian office, well sung and well recited, is itself a sermon. From its ravishing harmonies a perfume of Christianity exhales which fills the soul with its fragrance, induces, we might say, a devout melancholy in the mind and makes us dream of heaven. Moreover, it is in such perfect harmony with the sacred text and expresses so well its idea and sentiment by giving force to its expression that we are tempted to say that the Holy Ghost has breathed upon them both.

I will not deny that I am a passionate admirer of the Gregorian melodies. For fifteen years I have taught and practised them, and the more I study them the more I learn to love them, because I discover in them real beauties, melodic richness and truth, and a profound expression of religious sentiment. And I am, therefore, not surprised, as I was formerly, at the enthusiastic judgment of the great masters in this matter. But it required a penetrating and powerful genius to be able to seize the beauty which this music contains, in spite of the barbarous mutilations which it has undergone.

J. J. Rousseau, who wrote a great deal about music, said: "It is necessary to have, I will not say no piety, but no taste, to prefer music to plain chant in our churches."

The Israelite Halevy, the author of the famous opera "La Juive," could not help exclaiming, "How can Catholic priests, who have in Gregorian chant the most beautiful music there is in the world, admit the poverty of our modern music into their churches? I would give

all my dramatic works for a few of their religious melodies."

Finally, who does not recall the celebrated expression of Mozart: "I would willingly surrender all my glory for the greater one of having composed a Preface."

When we find ourselves in the presence of a masterpiece, the first question which comes to our lips is usually about its origin; when was it made and who was the author? Hence, in considering this famous masterpiece, this splendid monument of musical archaeology, namely, Gregorian chant, what captivates us at the very first and awakens our curiosity is the question of its origin. Whence did this traditional chant of the Church come?

In the National Library of Paris there is kept, almost as if it were a sacred relic, a shred of parchment found long ago in the temple of Delphos, on which there are written some strophes of a hymn to Apollo. But what is that in comparison with the first repertory of religious melodies which antiquity has handed down to us?

I say antiquity, for the traditional chant does not merely go back to St. Gregory; that is to say, to the seventh century, but we must seek its origin even in the Old Testament. "Gregorian chant," says Dom Pothier, "has its roots in the most remote antiquity."

It owes its origin to two distinct currents: one Hebrew, the other Greek, or, rather, Greco-Roman. History teaches us that after the dispersion of the Apostles, a great number of the synagogues received the doctrine of the Divine Master and were the first centers of Christian communities. Hence, we reason, that since in the Old Law they did not merely read the Holy Scriptures in the assemblies of the Jews, but sang the psalms with the accompaniment of drums, harps and zithers; it is evident that, in these converted synagogues, instead of

inventing new airs and new melodies for the singing of the psalms, they continued to sing them in the same fashion as before, and thus a certain part of the Hebrew liturgy, making exception of the few developments in the course of the centuries, was handed down to us.

"It is clear," says Dom Janssens, "that the Greek art exercised its influence on the organization of Christian worship. With the singing of the psalms, it could not help transmitting a predominant taste for free rhythm after the fashion of the singers of Israel, and there is no doubt that a melodic cadence passed from the synagogue to the Agapes, from the Agapes to the catacombs, from the catacombs to the basilicas."

Scientific researches in 1901 among the Israelites of Damascus by the French Benedictine, Dom J. Parizot, support this thesis. We know that this important tribe never went out of existence and consequently we are right in maintaining its rhetorical and musical tradition as ancient and authentic. The different liturgical melodies which this savant has got together, have a striking resemblance to Gregorian chant in the simplicity of the forms, the tonality, the modality in the grouping of the intervals and in freedom of the rhythm. There is even a special melody peculiar to these Jews of Damascus which corresponds in almost all its formulas to our chant of the Lamentations. All of these melodies are reproduced at length in the *Tribune*, of St. Gervais, and put in parallel columns with specimens of Gregorian chant.

It seems certain, therefore, that the traditional chant of the Church borrowed from the Hebrew art the melody of the psalms, at least along its grand lines.

Now as the Benedictines of Solesmes have clearly shown in their musical Paleography, we ought to place in the same category the Introits, the Communions, the

Offertories, the Tracts, the Responses, the Graduals and the Alleluia Versicles; that is to say, the most considerable parts of the Gregorian repertory, because all of these different pieces are composed on the basis of psalmody. In fact, in reducing them to the state of a melodic scheme ~~where~~, very often, even in taking them just as they are, we find the three constitutive elements of psalmody—the intonation, the chord of recitation and the melodic cadence. This, then, is the origin of the fundamental part of Gregorian chant and what Hebrew art has contributed to it.

And now what did it borrow from Greek music, or from Greco-Roman music; for Greek art had invaded Rome in the first centuries of the Christian era? To have a correct idea of what the Church borrowed from Greek art, we must distinguish two elements in its musical liturgy, namely, the text in prose or the chants with free rhythm, and the text in verse or the chants with measured rhythm.

As regards the chants in free rhythm, the Church borrowed nothing from Greek art, for it sought for this part of its liturgy only the application of the oratorical rhythm which was based on the play of the tonic accent and the proportional pauses of a rhythm which was unknown among Greeks.

As for the measured parts of its liturgical text, we may say that the Church took its liturgical text almost exclusively from the measured rhythm of Greek music in the composition of its hymns.

We know that, among the Jews, the poetic and musical prototype of religious art was the psalm with its parallelism and its division in the middle of the verse. The psalm is, in point of fact, a veritable poem in free rhythm, each verse of which includes a sort of a distich most

commonly with two paralell ideas ; that is to say, the same idea under two different forms.

Among the Greeks the poetic and musical prototype of religious art was the nome, which was a setting altogether foreign to the psalm and which consisted of four members of a verse, neither too long nor too short, bound together two and two, about equal in the number and the stress of the syllables. The form of the nome was almost invariable. Thus, the same melody could be applied to almost all. As this common melody is capable of application to different texts, it constitutes what our modern specialists call the musical mould or stamp.

Now, did the Christians make use of these moulds? Some think they did and maintain that many of our measured melodies are of Greek origin. Others say, on the contrary, that it is not probable; and that it is even quite repugnant to the spirit of faith, so lively and so profound among the first Christians, to have introduced in the churches the pagan form which was then in common use. In my humble opinion the first view is the most probable, for why would not the Church do with these melodies what she did with the pagan temples which she took possession of and transformed into basilicas? Did she not formerly make use of the spoils of the Egyptians to ornament the temple of the Lord? Did not the blessed Montfort in the eighteenth century employ the popular airs in his apostolic journeys and adapt them to his immortal canticles? Has not the Church the gift of sanctifying and divinizing whatever it touches? In any case, if the Christians did not want to make use of the Greek nomes in music, at least they made use of them in their poetry and literature.

M. Gevaert, the illustrious director of the conservatory of Brussels, has counted a certain number of these

typical formulas which are analagous to the nomes in the chant of the Roman Church. Here are two examples:

Ecce sacerdos magnus—qui in diebus suis—placuit Deo
—et inventus est justus.

Petrus apostolus—et Paulus doctor gentium—ipsi nos
docuerunt—legem tuam Domine.

We have here four distinct phrases or members, neither too long nor too short, bound together two and two, as the melodic cadences of the chants which accompany them indicate, and they are pretty nearly equal in the number and stress of the syllables. There was only one short step to make in order to arrive at the lyric strophe of four verses each, which were generally iambic dimeter. It sufficed to determine the number and stress of the syllables.

This is so true that in comparing the Ambrosian hymn "Te Lucis ante Terminum" with the melody of "Ecce Sacerdos Magnus," the accord is seen to be perfectly established.

But after what rhythm did the Christian poets compose their hymns? Was it in imitation of the classic metre and after the fashion of the Latin poets? As the hymns were pious songs for popular use, it was thought that a more familiar and freer rhythm could be taken and it was simply based on the number of syllables as well as on the periodic recurrence of certain metrical accents. This is the kind of poetry which made Horace such a favorite, and is what he called the *horridus Saturnius*.

What did the Church borrow from Greek art? It was customary with the Greeks for the harpers and flute players to open and close the pieces with a prelude and a postlude. It was this which gave the idea of the anthem which prepares the tone of the psalm and is re-

peated at the end. Finally the Church borrowed from the Greek music forms a special characteristic of this chant, namely, diatonism. I mean that grave and austere trait in Greek art of the first period before it descended into the refinements of the chromatic and the enharmonia scales.

Let us say in passing that this diatonism consists in the employment of the natural gamut which has no other half-tones than mi-fa, si-do, excluding the artificial half-tones formed by the help of sharps and flats.

The Church established, therefore, its liturgical melodies on the Greek diatonic scale, which makes use of only the natural half-tones and which is composed of the four following tetracords: La-si-ut-re, mi-fa-sol-la, la-si-ut-re, mi-fa-sol-la, which thus forms fourteen modes, of which four are authentic, four are plagal and six are associate. The authentic and plagal modes were built up on four notes, re, mi, fa, sol, and the associate on the three first notes, la, si, ut. The existence of these fourteen modes, reduced officially to eight, furnishes for plain chant a source of incomparable variety of melodies and gives it an incontestible superiority over modern music, which possesses only the major and minor.

It is evident from this that the traditional chant takes its root on the one side in the synagogues and the Old Testament; on the other, it goes back to Greek art, whose primitive constitution it adopts. "It is certain," says Dom Pothier, "that the melodic formulas of recitative, namely, the melodies of the psalms, which are the first sources of melodies properly so-called, go back not only beyond St. Gregory, but beyond the catacombs. They are the patrimony which the Church has received from antiquity and belong to the liturgy of every age and of every people."

But what has become of the chant of the Church during the first three centuries? History is silent on that point. However, it is not credible that the faith, which was so vivid and so enthusiastic in the first Christians, did not inspire them, in the very shadow of the catacombs, to compose a certain number of melodies. We cannot fancy that the reperatory of the religious chants was not enlarged during that period.

In the fourth century we know that it developed under the influence of Ambrose and Prudentius, but it was reserved to Gregory the Great to give it its magisterial development. He put upon it the true religious and artistic stamp, which it has kept up to our day.

In what did this work of St. Gregory consist? Did he draw upon his inspiration; did he take from his own mind the melodies which bear his name?

Such is not the opinion of some historians and archaeologists. In their opinion, St. Gregory performed only the work of centonization. That is to say, he took all the melodies whose fragments still existed, united them, developed them under his inspiration and thus composed his famous Antiphonary.

With all due regard to these writers, it seems to me that the rôle which they attribute to St. Gregory is not as great as it ought to be. Doubtless St. Gregory admitted in his Antiphonary, while remoulding them, the chants of the first ages of the Church. But was this repertory sufficient to satisfy all the exigencies of the liturgy which had developed in the meantime, and can we admit that a musical genius as he was, did not permit himself to do what the monastic musicians of the eighth and twelfth centuries did, namely, enrich the repertory he had with new melodies of his own inspired composition?

Finally, if in accord with a respectable tradition, there was a sort of assistance of the Holy Spirit in this matter, should we restrict this assistance to the simple work of centonization and not extend it to the work of composition and invention? It is very probable that the Antiphonary of St. Gregory contains a large number of melodies due to the inspiration of this great Pope. But what kind of inspiration was this? See what Dom Pothier says on this subject:

“That these sublime chants possessed an artistic inspiration to a very high degree cannot be doubted by those who wish to study thoroughly and sincerely these musical formulas which are so simple and at the same time so rich, which are developed and linked together so naturally and so perfectly. We may go further and say it is impossible, even for a most accomplished artist, if he is only an artist, to invent melodic formulas which render, with so much truth and sweetness, the sacred words of the liturgy, which blend so intimately with the thoughts and bring out their value to such a degree. There must be in the soul a profound sentiment of piety and habit of prayer, which draws the writer near to God, in order to find accents so perfectly in harmony with the divine mysteries which the liturgy celebrates and sings. This inspiration which, we need not say, is not the same as that of the sacred writers; is, however, a gift of the Holy Ghost, one of the special graces so liberally granted by our Lord, especially in the beginning of His Church.”

There is nothing more judicious than this theory and the distinction which it contains. Without attributing to St. Gregory the inspiration of the sacred writers, we can accord him at least an artistic inspiration, aided by a sort of special assistance by the Holy Ghost, in

opposition to those who refuse to acknowledge in him not only the inspiration which we have just referred to, but who in contradiction to the general and traditional belief even deny him the paternity of the Antiphonary which bears his name.

As the manuscripts which we possess do not go beyond the ninth century, it is impossible to have actual witnesses or direct proofs in favor of this fact. It would, however, be an error to imagine that these documents are useless in this regard. Here, for instance, is an argument which a constant and profound study of these manuscripts has deduced from certain well authenticated facts.

In their celebrated musical paleography, the Benedictines of Solesmes have pointed out a hundred melodic cadences which are apparently based and modelled on the rhythm of the *cursus planus*, which was of common use in the first days of the Church in the masterpieces of oratory, in the acts of the Roman chancellery, in the Prefaces and in the endings of prayers, the Secrets and the Post-Communions. Now these melodic cadences are reproduced thousands of times throughout the Gregorian collection.

Let us say in passing what we mean by the literary *cursus*. We understand by that expression certain harmonious successions of words and syllables which the Greek and Latin orators employed at the end of their periods, so as to produce by such cadences of numbers or rhythms an arrangement which would have an agreeable effect on the ear. If the employment of syllables was founded on quantity, the *cursus* was called metrical; if on the tonic accents, it was called tonic.

Now this latter *cursus*, which was the only one in use in the liturgy, comprised four varieties, the three first

of which we find in the prayer of the Angelus, namely, *Nostris infunde*, five syllables, which is the *cursus planus*; *Incarnati-onem cognovimus*, 10 syllables, which is the *cursus tardus*; *Gloriam perducamus*, 7 syllables, which is the *cursus velox*. The prayer, *Deus qui corda fidelium*, gives us a fourth at the end of the first period. *Illustrati-one docuisti* is the *cursus* formed by the three spon-dees and is, therefore, called the trispondaic, and, we might add also to this list, the *cursus* dispondaic; *Corde meo*.

Let us see what M. Jules Cambarieu, one of the most eminent critics of France, has to say on this subject. Making use of the argument which the paleography of Solesmes has furnished, he translates it thus:

"In the liturgical repertories of the three dialects of plain chant, Ambrosian, Gregorian and Mozarabic, we find reproduced thousands of times more than one hundred cadences which imitate the rhythmic modulations of the literary *cursus planus* on which they are evidently based. Now we know that from the eighth to the twelfth century the number of the *cursus* was generally appended by the writers. This is the conclusion which M. Meyer has arrived at after having studied a great number of authors of every country. M. Noel Valois, in his study of the Pontifical Bulls, has proved that from the middle of the seventh century the *cursus* is more or less poorly observed and often entirely disregarded. On the other hand, M. l'abbé Couture informs us that from the time of St. Gregory the Great the *cursus* seems to have been banished for four centuries from literary prose. Hence Gregorian melody can be considered as contemporaneous with that literary process in accordance with which it has been constructed; that is to say, before the middle of the seventh century. Now, as Pope St. Gregory reigned precisely at the beginning of the seventh cen-

tury, the Church enters into possession of these new titles to its traditional belief." (Le Correspondant, Dec. 20, 1854. "Plain-chant and Pope St. Gregory the Great.")

After St. Gregory and up to the twelfth century, the treasures of the liturgical melodies were augmented. Pious monks of St. Gaul, such as Ratpert, Tutilo and Notker composed liturgical chants, especially Kyries and Sequences. The venerable Bede left a certain number of hymns. There are, besides, among the composers of this epoch, King Robert the Pious, the author of the solemn *Benedicamus* in the second tone; Pope Leo X, Guy d'Arezzo, Hermanus Contractus, author of the *Salve Regina*, St. Bernard and St. Dunstan who, after an ecstasy, composed his Kyrie *Rex Splendidus*. But after the thirteenth century compositions are rare, and the knowledge of plain chant was obliterated especially by the introduction of the *discant* of polyphonic music. At the epoch of the Renaissance, the decrees concerning Gregorian music were completely ignored, and this explains the strange compositions in plain chant which have been given to us by the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is sufficient to examine the specimens of chant contributed by Palestrina himself to see how the science of Gregorian chant had deteriorated. Palestrina, moreover, succeeded in perverting the sense of the Gregorian rhythm by taking as the theme of his immortal polyphonic compositions the motifs of plain chant, which he had executed by one of the parts in a very slow movement.

Such was the real point of departure and the cause of the frightful and barbarous treatment which, during many centuries down to our days, has made of Gregorian chant a rhythmic monstrosity.

As regards the eighteenth century it has left us only hybrid and indefinable examples; a mixture of plain chant and music such, for instance, as the melodies of the Parisian liturgy, which are due in great part to the inspiration of Canon Leboeuf. This does not mean that in general they lacked a certain musical inspiration, but they had not that calm, pious and mystical characteristic, that gospel perfume, that power of penetration of which the Middle Ages have kept the secret. Hence, with few exceptions, they are excluded from the Gregorian repertory and do not enter into the current of its tradition on this point.

Such, then, are the origins of liturgical chant and the manner in which it was handed down to us. Its compositions are a veritable monument of musical art as well as of the simple and living faith of the Christians of the Middle Ages. Thus by a special Providence and by the conservative spirit of the monks these authentic sources escaped the ravages of time and of the barbarism which then entered into the world. Without this spirit it would have been impossible to free Gregorian chant from the mutilations and the corruptions of which it was the subject during five centuries and to establish it again in its integrity and its primitive purity. But it required the tremendous and persevering labor of half a century, the comparison and profound study of thousands of manuscripts of every age and every country and from every source. It required the perseverance and patience which is peculiar to the Benedictines to bring such an enterprise to a successful issue. The various editions of guidonian notations, which are veritable masterpieces of typography and which are the fruit of these remarkable studies, have preserved for us the pure reading of these manuscripts and the traditional chant of

the Church such as it existed in the ninth century; that is to say, very near its principal source.

We may conclude that in the last edition issued by Desclée and which has been completely revised, the Benedictines have given us the final word on the archaeology of the subject; and the authentic approbation of the Sacred Congregation of Rites in according its sanction, permits us to presume that the Vatican edition which is being prepared with so much affection and zeal, on the Isle of Wight, will be a faithful reproduction of it, apart from some purely accidental variants. The Kyriale has already been adopted without any other modification than the addition of new Masses, which are also traditional in their character.

We are, therefore, assured henceforth of possessing in our liturgy—a melodic text drawn from the purest sources—which is the true chant of the ages of faith and at the same time an historical monument of the most famous examples, or I might say, of the entire musical art of the Middle Ages.

Nevertheless, let there be no mistake. This expurgated text of Gregorian melodies, when put in the hands of our Church singers, will contribute to this restoration which Pius X has so wisely and so gloriously undertaken, only when it is aided by an interpretation in conformity with the spirit in which it has been conceived, and when rendered capable of conveying to the soul the salutary and vivifying virtue which it contains.

Now what is needed to accomplish that? That the Gregorian chant, which in the Vatican and typical edition will retain the traditional notation, and be translated into a language which reveals its rhythmic secrets, a language which is common, universal and so

easy that anyone without difficulty will be able to grasp at least the essential elements of it. This language which is within the reach of all is the modern notation in a single clef. There is nothing simpler, nothing which can reproduce with greater clearness and precision the Gregorian phrasing in its details and its entirety.

One is almost amazed at the facility with which, by the help of this notation, the sense of the Gregorian rhythm can be taught. With the greatest rapidity one can get the better of contrary habits and of the most inveterate routine, and inspire an admiration of the gracious and attractive forms with which the Church has clothed her music, even among people on whom the guidonian notation acts almost like a scarecrow.

For a long time the Benedictines refused to entertain this view, in spite of the constant entreaty of those who were in active practice, such as chapel masters and singing teachers, who were struggling with the difficulties of a notation which was too complicated and too learned for their pupils, while being at the same time for the ordinary singer quite insufficient for rhythmic expression. But they had to yield to the exigencies of the situation, and in spite of their very legitimate repugnance they undertook an edition in modern musical notation. It was in consequence of this that the "Manual of the Mass and of the Offices" appeared in the new form which was so ardently desired.

The welcome which it met with at first amounted almost to enthusiasm. The thing was done, they said; the popularization of plain chant and its true rhythm was an accomplished fact, since it was now within reach of the humblest country singer. But this enthusiasm cooled when it was found that the rhythmic punctuation which was written over each musical staff and which

was to be the infallible guide of accentuation had quite another meaning, because the rhythmic point, as a matter of fact, frequently clashed either before or after with the tonic accent. What did it mean? they asked, and are still asking.

In the United States certain teachers and directors of liturgical societies, for whom this work would have been a treasure-trove, found themselves compelled to put it aside because, said they, the rhythmic points give us the French accentuation of Latin which is frequently in disaccord with our own.

Evidently they have not gone to the root of the system, and they can hardly be blamed; for it is all so strange and so extraordinary, and the preface of Dom Mocquereau is too cloudy and too inadequate to throw any light on the matter.

Might I recommend the somewhat long discussion of the matter which circumstances forced me to write on the subject? It may help to elucidate the idea of Dom Mocquereau, and will place visibly before the eyes of the reader the anomalies of this new method which is exclusively the work of the young school of Solesmes, with which Dom Pothier refused to have anything to do, because *he disapproved of it entirely* (London *Tablet*, Jan. 28, 1905. Supplement p. 135).

It is indeed to be regretted that the complete edition of modern notation which Desclée proposes to offer to the public and which should contribute so powerfully to the popularization of the true Gregorian rhythm should be based on a rhythmic system which will always be an enigma for most people, independently of the important changes to which it subjects the rhythm which Dom Pothier has established in such a masterly fashion in his *Gregorian Melodies*.

Are we, therefore, to despair of success for our cause in the countries of the New World?

Assuredly not, for we believe that in the near future Providence will fill men's minds with the most noble devotion and generous sympathy in favor of a movement which means so much for the dignity of Catholic worship and the good of souls. The Church in America will not be disinterested. It will have, no doubt, like the churches of France, Germany and elsewhere, its own proper edition of the traditional chant in an essentially practical form, which will be available for the work of even the most modest of our country churches. It will have, let us hope, its *Manual of the Faithful*, or a collection which will include the whole popular part of the Gregorian repertory, namely, the Ordinaries of the Mass, Psalms, Hymns and Benedictions.

Then, as in the Ages of Faith, we shall see the people coming back into the possession of what was once its liturgical patrimony, and taking an active part in the chanting of the prayers and divine praises; and just as Luther caught the people and planted the seeds of the Reformation more by the use of the Choral than by the trick of his eloquence, so this participation of the faithful in singing the offices of the Church will be the most powerful means of interesting them in the ceremonies of divine worship, in developing in them Christian knowledge and the Christian instinct and in binding them closer to the Church; in a word, in making them believers of the kind that Pius X would have them be. Towards the realization of this ideal all should unite with every force at their disposal.

C. MARCETTEAU,

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The

Real Nature of Sodalities



Letter to a Priest

MY DEAR FRIEND:

Let me begin by warmly congratulating you on the honor you have received in being appointed to direct the Sodality of the senior students of your college. It is a splendid and a great responsibility and your selection is a proof of the esteem in which your virtue and your common sense are held.

You ask me for some practical advice, and you add that you are somewhat troubled about the object and the opportuneness of Sodalities in general, on account of the tone of the Report of the Proceedings of the 28th General Assembly of the Alliance of Establishments of Christian Education, which met at Nimes on the 5th, 6th and 7th of September, 1905. You are correct in saying that the impartial and well written report of M. l'abbé Guillemant on this particular topic reveals the fact that there were very hot and even very passionate discussions in that congress, but that unfortunately nothing was settled. For although the members of the assembly, after having three times exchanged their views, their hopes, their fears and even their disillusionments on this subject, they did so without regard to order or logic. In fact, they have failed to formulate any resolutions which would dispense me from writing you this letter. I regret this failure for two reasons: first, because the question is more actual and more vital now than ever—

in fact, so the report says—and therefore called for a practical solution; secondly, because a decision from such a venerable assembly where so many capable men were in session would have carried with it great moral weight and authority.

No doubt the congress feared to run counter to certain local customs, certain personal convictions, and one is tempted to say certain prejudices. In fact, they are reflected here and there in the Report. But this condescension does not diminish the regret. On the contrary, in such an important matter indecision and inexactness, just as much as perverseness and prejudice, are necessarily barren of any result. The direction of souls more than anything else ought to start from clearly enunciated principles and follow a sure road.

Now it is certain—and I beg pardon of those whom my words may hurt—that a large number of priests, and among them men eminent for their piety, do not understand the nature of college sodalities. For many they are a simple affair of devotion; associations for the goody-goodies among the students; for boys who readily and almost naturally enter such associations, and who fancy they have done their duty when they have once or twice a week recited a few psalms in common and listened to a word of piety about the Blessed Virgin. The typical sodalist, the predestined prefect, the one marked out long ahead of his time for that office, is very often a lad without passions and as incapable of doing right as he is of doing wrong; a sort of a statue of a saint or a mummy. The wild lads of the division will not hesitate to give him the name of that very common bivalve that everybody knows. The result is disastrous for the entire association. Whose fault is it? It is the fault of the Directors who permit such a choice

and who authorize in so doing an absolutely false idea of what a Sodality is.

I.

The essential principle in Sodalities of the Blessed Virgin is clearly expressed in the first of those rules which they have received from the Society of Jesus in virtue of powers dating back three centuries and granted by the pontifical bulls in their regard: "The Blessed Virgin Mother of God is to be considered the patroness of the Sodality and as cherishing and protecting it in a special manner, because, being the Mother of Mercy, she loves those who love her, and covers with the mantle of her protection those who have recourse to her with a filial affection." Such is the bilateral contract clearly indicated, which makes a Sodalist, when, after the proper trials he presents himself at the foot of the altar to declare solemnly that he takes Our Lady as his patroness and advocate; and when, on the other hand, the Director, specially authorized to do so by the Sovereign Pontiff, receives him in the service and under the protection of Mary to share in all the rights of this spiritual adoption as long as he fulfils its obligations.

These obligations are set down in the rules, and may be reduced to three: First, to honor her with a special devotion, which means *piety*; secondly, to endeavor to imitate her by purity of life, which supposes the *work of perfection*; thirdly, to encourage his companions in the same kind of love for her, which connotes *association* for a common end.

Such is, in its broad lines, the only true idea of a Sodality of the Blessed Virgin, as it was first established in the Roman College in 1564 by the Jesuit, John Leon, and solemnly established under the title of *Prima*

Primaria, and subsequently repeatedly recommended to the Catholic world by Pontifical Letters, and especially by the Golden Bull of Benedict XIV, and confirmed by Leo XIII, who was a member. This *Prima Primaria* has the exclusive right to transmit its spiritual favors by affiliating other associations.

The devotion to the Blessed Mother in Christian life in general is of sovereign importance for all the faithful, for the very simple reason that she occupies in the divine plan a privileged position between her Divine Son and us. Intimately associated with Christ during His earthly life in the work of our redemption, she is still closer to Him in His life in heaven, and is more intensively active in our sanctification. The saints and doctors did not hesitate to say that all grace comes to us through her hands, and they have applied to her the title of the almighty suppliant.

Hence in our schools and colleges we are bound to inculcate a serious, solid and lasting devotion to her. Necessarily this devotion has its degrees as well as its motives and its various forms. At first it is a sort of idealized prolongation of the confiding and ingenuous affection which a child has for its earthly mother. Just as he prays to Jesus his brother, so will he pray to Mary His Mother. He will do so instinctively without any explicit reasoning about what she is to him or why he needs her. But when he begins to know himself more thoroughly and awakens to the consciousness of his moral weakness, and when, on the other hand, he learns more about her office as the Queen Mother, who intercedes and mediates, his piety will assume a more precise character, and without ceasing to be tender, because his heart is always that of a son to a mother, his affection will become more virile, for the reason that his attitude is more

thoroughly reasoned out. Let us speak plainly. In order to know fully and to practice efficaciously this devotion to the Blessed Virgin, in order to comprehend the scope and fulfil the obligations of the solemn contract by which he becomes her adopted son, he must have already been aware of the awakening of his passions; he must have already, even if it were but once, have stood over the abyss and cried for help to her who crushed the head of the serpent; he must have found in her protection victory and peace.

From all this we may deduce two conclusions:

1. As none of the blessed in heaven, either saint or angel, can compare in sanctity or power with the Immaculate Queen, the Sodalities established under her patronage have by that fact a superiority over other associations, not only in honor but in efficacy for the good of the members. It is on this account that the popes have loaded these societies with praise and with favors. For three centuries they have been the privileged type of pious associations for Christians of every age and every condition.

2. With regard to colleges, as their efficaciousness depends largely on the reasoned and mature dispositions with which the Sodalist affixes his signature to his contract of adoption, it is necessary to reserve this solemn act for the older students, and to prepare the younger ones by other associations, wisely devised so as to lead them gradually by successive stages to the final step. For the youngest the Infant Jesus, who was the obedient child of Mary, or the Angels who are the pure escort of the Queen, are usually chosen to be the chief protectors. For those who are older, young saints like Stanislaus, Berchmans, Aloysius Gonzaga, all of whom were loving sons of the Blessed Mother, may be proposed as patrons; but

for the oldest students it is the Immaculate Virgin, the model and the protectress of the purity of growing youth, who is proposed as their support and their refuge at each instant up to the end of life; *nunc et in hora mortis*.

In the preparatory associations the consecration to the holy protectors has only a limited obligation, whereas the consecration to the Blessed Virgin in the last Sodality will be definitive. Once a member of a congregation affiliated to the *Prima Primaria* of Rome, the collegian has a right to rank in all similar associations of youth or men. He may unfortunately fail to keep his promises of purity, but if he does not destroy the pact which he made, that pact will continue, and the day when this ungrateful son, stricken by shame or disaster, arises to ask of the Mother of Mercy to intercede for him he will re-enter into his rights of adoption, and will again verify in his penitent soul her claim to be called the Gate of Heaven. What old Director of a Sodality has not had the consolation of receiving in his arms some of these wanderers, whom the far-off memory of the Sodality brought back again, or of experiencing that more delightful joy, mingled though it is with bitterness, of seeing those whom she had preserved from all stain, dying prematurely in their early youth with her medal on their heart and the smile of angels on their lips?

But let us hasten to say that the devotion, which is, according to his rule the Sodalist's first duty, is only the first step in the ladder. Beautiful and pure and great as the Blessed Virgin is, she is not the term of our destiny. Her Divine Son alone is the way, the truth and the life; that is to say, our salvation. Mary's work and the ultimate purpose of her protection and of all the graces she obtains for us is to lead us to Jesus. Now we cannot go to Heaven except by the fulfilment of His precepts and

His counsels. Hence devotion to the Blessed Virgin is essentially practical.

Therefore, besides the pious homage which the Sodalist offers to his Queen, his first rule enjoins upon him to imitate her admirable virtues. His third rule determines this more exactly: "The final object of the Sodality is virtue and Christian piety;" while the following ones describe the means to attain that end, viz., "frequent reception of the sacraments" (3d rule); "perfect docility to a wise Director for the formation and government of his conscience" (4th rule); "pious reunions with instructions by the Director in what regards the spiritual progress of the Sodalists" (5th rule); "feasts celebrated with fervor and prepared for by special works" (6th and 7th rules); "reading calculated to assist spiritual progress" (8th rule); "retreats according to the practical method of St. Ignatius, in which they will mediate particularly on the duties of their state of life" (9th rule); "daily meditation and serious examination of conscience for the correction of their defects" (13th rule). If a Sodalist is to be away for some time the 16th rule enjoins upon him "to show himself in all circumstances a true member of the Sodality in endeavoring by the purity of his life to edify and to win others to virtue and piety."

It is useless, I think, to insist on the practical character of these rules. They clearly show to those who can understand them that the Sodality is not founded to manufacture devotees, but serious Christians, who know how to unite to prayer the great necessary work of their perfection.

Of what kind of perfection is there question? Is it a common, ordinary, vulgar perfection? Is it a purely personal perfection? Neither one nor the other. Listen to the first words of the 14th rule: "Since Sodalists

make profession of a greater perfection than others, they are recommended to display a greater ardor in pious and Christian works." These two categories of works are explicitly laid down in the following words: "To confess and communicate more frequently, and to recite the Office or the rosary." Those are works of piety. "To visit prisons, if the circumstances of time or persons permit, or even visit hospitals." Those are the Christian works referred to. Nor are they the only works he is to perform. "These pious works and *others of the kind* can be performed individually, according to each one's condition and fervor, or collectively, in accordance with arrangements and recommendations of the Director."

I would like to call attention with regard to this rule to the intimate connection and dependence which exists between the concern for one's perfection which should be out of the common, and the performance of good works. Unfortunately we meet in certain minds a singular inability to appreciate the effects which a supernatural principle is capable of producing in souls when they loyally seek God and aim at virtue. The mistaken people of whom I speak are not only those unreflecting youth who are smitten with a love of novelty and eager to make a show in what is called the Social Movement, before they know exactly in what it all consists, and especially what moral formation it presupposes, but the same error haunts certain priests (the Report of the Nîmes Congress is proof of it), who on that occasion did not fear to say that the Sodalities are no longer suited to the needs of society as it is now constituted, and that it would be advisable to substitute for those exercises which are intended solely for the individual perfection of young men, works more in keeping with the tendencies of *the modern soul*.

Great God! What is this *modern soul*? Is it also about to undergo in its inmost depths one of those radical evolutions which we hear of at every hand's turn? Have the souls of our poor young men no longer any need, as heretofore, of getting the better of their natural egotism, of rising to generous thoughts and of beginning it all by loving God with their whole heart? Are they not to learn the art of self-conquest? Are they not to be taught to put duty above all the solicitations of pleasure and pride, and to seek in the means instituted by Our Lord the strength to avoid evil and to do good? Are they not to inflame their hearts from the Heart of Christ, and to love the poor and the suffering as Christ loved them in giving Himself to them without reserve?

One of two things; either this Social Action which is in the air will take as its base some one of the vague theories of immanent justice, human brotherhood or sentimental philanthropy, and then you run the risk of making your young men loud-mouthed and conceited declaimers, who, when the day comes for some proof of abnegation and devotedness, will slip off and make their speeches elsewhere; or it will rest on the distinctly Christian principle of charity which unites the love of God and the love of man in one commandment; a principle which will be frequently meditated on, actively put in practice to a large extent and accepted and loved as the working idea of one's entire life. Now to develop such dispositions in those college students who are capable of any serious and lasting action in social matters, nothing can be better than these Sodalities of the Blessed Virgin when they are properly understood, and the Reporter of the Nimes Congress was more than correct when he summed up his paper in these words: "Student circles, social works, benevolent associations,

Young Men's Catholic Societies, can therefore live in peace and develop in the shadow of our old Sodalities, from which they will receive their best recruits, for those Sodalities have the merit of forming not only excellent Christians, but men of action, such as our twentieth century demands."

If there be any doubt about the correctness of this conclusion a glance backward at the history of the societies will quickly set the mind at rest. Read the Summary of the Rules laid down for the first Sodalists in the Roman College, and you will see that during the week their time was divided between study and piety, while on Sunday, after Vespers and a short exhortation by the Director, the members betook themselves to the hospitals or set about other works of charity. Or coming two centuries and a half nearer our own times, to the Little Seminary of St. Acheul at Amiens, founded in 1814 by the Venerable Father de Clorivière, we get at the real idea of a Sodality. It was there that Father de Bussy quadrupled the working strength of his Sodalists by dividing them up according to their likings or aptitude into four groups, a double section of which visited the prisoners and sick at Bicêtre or the Conciergerie, or the Hôtel Dieu, helping the inmates physically and morally and succeeding in performing by a thousand devices which their youthful fervor invented miracles of resignation and conversion. The section for the poor consoled those unfortunates either at the gates of the college in distributing alms or visiting them in their miserable habitations, never forgetting to unite some spiritual help to the alms they bestowed. Another section had the pleasant work of decorating the sanctuary of the Blessed Virgin. There was one which, under the guidance of the Director, undertook to defend Catholic truth against the errors of the

day; another to spread devotion to the Mother of God, and still another which looked after new scholars, helped them in their work and facilitated their entrance into college life.

Is it conceivable that young men trained in that fashion to perform these minor works of zeal would be ill-prepared for the larger efforts of what is called Social Action? What wisdom would there be in initiating them before the time and to the detriment of their studies in all the theories and all the secrets of modern sociology, which still puzzle so many mature men? The Sodality enkindles in their heart the sacred fire of charity, and when they step out of college they have only to keep it alive by new fuel. That was always done in old times by Alumni Sodalities. Witness, for instance, the one established by Father Delpuits after the Reign of Terror with six young students of law and medicine, one of whom was a Montmorency, who soon gathered others around them and carried on a splendid apostolate among their fellow students, who had flocked to the Capital for knowledge indeed, but who often strayed away in dangerous pleasures. God alone knows the number they saved from shipwreck. The sick in the hospitals in those days had no spiritual help (pretty much as to-day in the French hospitals), and these young men found means to reach them. The Government actually suppressed that Sodality in 1809, but it sprung up again a few years later, and gave its help to a Society of Good Works which looked after the hospitals, prisons, immigrant children and children of the street, ~~like our Italians of to-day.~~ One of these Sodalists was the first to plan the society which is so flourishing to-day, viz., that of St. Francis Regis, for the rehabilitation of families whose matrimonial arrangements need settling. When the Govern-

ment attacked and suppressed it the Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul took up the same works in a less compromising fashion and under a new name. Even to-day the resuscitated Sodalities while carrying out their own object, which is not included in the idea of the Vincentians, co-operate with them in all their benevolent undertakings.

I would like to say in ending this particular part of what I am undertaking to explain, that the ever-ready disdain for a *superannuated institution*, and the ardent thirst for new forms of social action which is common to-day, give evidence of a certain youthful simplicity which perhaps is its best or only excuse. Like Columbus, they are eager to discover new worlds. The deluded individuals who dream of replacing the old Christian charity by this new arrival, which perhaps may be regarded as no more than its small relative, would do well to read the article published a short time ago in the *Etudes*, which explained what the Men's Sodalities of Caen used to do as far back as 1720.

Here are some of the things they attended to:

- 1st. Loans on wages.
- 2d. Looking after poor apprentices.
- 3d. Procuring work.
- 4th. Establishing dispensaries.
- 5th. Visiting prisons.
- 6th. Visiting the poor.

If each city of France had an association like that to-day the social question would be quickly and satisfactorily settled.

Here is another instance of it much nearer to us. The Sodality of Young Business Men of Aix la Chapelle, which is composed of 200 members, celebrated on October 8, 1905, its golden jubilee in presence of Cardinal

Fischer, Archbishop of Cologne, and a throng of other distinguished men. The enthusiasm and splendor of the event were remarkable. Eloquent discourses explained the influence exerted by the society for the last fifty years on the social and Catholic life of the city of Charlemagne, where it had inaugurated other societies numbering each of them thousands of men. It had interested itself in all the works of piety and charity of the locality; such as religious conferences, annual retreats, Peter's pence, foreign missions, popular Catholic libraries, popular scientific lectures, starting in this a movement, which was communicated to seventy German cities, besides organizing Sunday schools where not only catechism was taught, but even the three R's, and promoting countless other similar schemes. It had taken a great part in the movement of trades unions, and had furnished, as one of the orators said, "all-around men," who were a notable contingent in the valiant band which had seen service in the politico-religious and the politico-social movements of the present day. There is the proper idea of a Sodality.

II.

A *special* devotion to the Blessed Virgin entered into by *special* promise and accompanied by a sustained effort at a *special* perfection, such is the first great means which sets the machinery of the Sodality in motion to form, in pursuance of its general aim, exceptionally good Christians. The second means is indicated by the first rule already cited, viz., "They should endeavor to help each other to cultivate a special love for her." It is not a vague, indeterminate union, but one that is Christian, brotherly and practical, as is laid down in another rule: "Let them love each other with a sincere and true love; let them set themselves to safeguard peace and fraternal

union, and so make daily progress in truly Christian virtues."

In times like ours, when everything of any account is done by associations; when individual action is almost always condemned to helplessness, while union multiplies tenfold or a hundredfold the activity of its members by force of cohesion, there is no need of insisting much on the power that Sodalists have of acting as a family unit. This family spirit where Christian charity comes not to extinguish but to supernaturalize the warmth which is the characteristic of young friendships, and settle them in the fixed purpose of an ideal purity, infinitely surpasses associations which depend merely on personal interest and are constantly exposed to grow cold and die. In a Sodality faithful to its rules and its object, there are no rivalries, because everything converges to one sole and supreme interest, viz., the glory of God, to which everyone, from the oldest to the youngest, brings his contribution of good will, enthusiasm and zeal.

As in an affectionate family, joys and sorrows are shared by all alike, each helping the others to achieve what is right and avoid what is wrong, each affectionately warning and advising about what is out of the way or ill-advised, and, if needs be, leagued together in the cause of justice and truth, each one sustaining the other by the force of mutual good example, and finally all together forming a joint stock of intelligence, material resources and devotedness for the success of the family enterprises in a way that the initiative of any one single person or a small number could never attempt, so a well-regulated Sodality co-operates in its aims and purposes.

I grant that this is an ideal, and I am perfectly well aware that it is not realized always and everywhere. We have to take human weakness into account, and the

amiable years of youth are not exempt from it. But it does not follow that it is not realizable. On the contrary, experience proves that it is realizable if only the Sodality is organized and directed on the traditional lines. At the risk of appearing to be pleading for one's own domain and of making an *ex cathedra* pronouncement, I would like to give my ideas on the matter, since they have been asked for, and give at the same time some practical advice which may be accepted if agreeable.

The driving wheel of the Sodality is incontestably the Director or Spiritual Father. As M. l'Abbé Guillemant expresses it, "The work of a Sodality is what the Director makes it." I admit this; however, with one reservation, which seems to me of great importance, for the proper management of the society, and that is, the Director should not absorb in his personal action the initiative of the members, and especially of the officers. Of course nothing of importance should be done without his assent or inspiration. That is the rule, and after the devotion to the Blessed Mother the Sovereign Pontiffs recommend nothing so much to Sodalists as "a prompt and zealous docility to their respective Directors." But he should not be pulling the strings of a lot of marionettes. If he desires to have his spiritual children develop into men of action he should, after having indicated the objective and pointed out the route, know how to efface himself, and while watching the march let them march. A good general carefully traces his plan of battle and arranges his troops; after that he is satisfied with studying the fight, and if need be of coming to the rescue from time to time if anything goes wrong, and of keeping up the enthusiasm of his soldiers.

Let us enter into details, basing what we have to say on the text of the rules. The beginning of the second

reads thus: "The congregation will be governed by the Director of the place and by the Prefect, with the aid of the Council and Assistants." It is impossible to evade the principle which is enunciated here and confirmed in several other places, viz., that the Director governs *with* the Prefect and the Assistants. Without wishing to establish between the two offices an absolute line of demarcation, I suggest that the Director represents the legislative, and the Prefect the executive action; the latter always being responsible to the former.

This organization proposes to directly interest the Sodalists in the progress of the association, and this shows that those who founded it had a thorough comprehension of the needs of youth, which is eager only for work in which it is personally concerned. This co-operation must be accorded fully and freely. In the same order of ideas the rules accord universal suffrage to the members, restricted only by the approbation of superiors. It gives them the right of deciding the election of the three chief dignitaries, the Prefect and Assistants, who thus become the immediate representatives of the Sodalists, and who nominate subsequently with the concurrence of the Director the officers of the second degree, Counselors, Secretary, Treasurer, etc. The Counselors themselves are summoned to discuss freely all matters of the Sodality under the presidency of the Director, and to vote on the details of the administration in such a fashion that the majority rules. There is nothing more efficacious than this active participation to inspire a conscientious performance of duty, and to dispose those who are governed to accept the authority of those who rule for the good of each one in particular and for the whole body in general.

Doubtless this system of fostering the habit of initiating

enterprises obliges the superior on the other hand to have a firm hand and to steer prudently between the rocks. Even the best of young men are subject to moments of caprice, to ill-judged impressions and even to light-headedness. But is that a reason to condemn it to be passive? God forbid! Fire when uncontrolled causes terrible disasters, but control it and it works wonders.

In the same large and practical spirit the admission of new members shall be decided by the Council with the approbation of the Consultors. The Report of the Nimes Congress calls attention to an educational establishment where to avoid the suspicion of party spirit all the students of a division were made to vote on the admission of members. The proceeding was, to say the least, extremely curious. For, after all, the students of a division are not usually good judges of the qualities required in a Sodalist and if the officers cannot rise above partiality we should like to know how the rest of the students deserve any such confidence? Moreover, it is permitted to ask if such a system of mistrust prevails what becomes of the reputation of the Sodality and its Director? The rules establish for the admission of candidates a series of trials, assuredly, more reliable than this haphazard system of voting.

On this point it might be well to remark, if he does not want to ruin his Sodality the Director ought to watch with the greatest care that his society should represent only the best. Otherwise it will infallibly and rapidly fall into the commonplace and sterile.

The curse of a Sodality is the narrow, critical and indocile member; a recruit who is all the more dangerous, as he knows how to cover up his tracks and be listened to by outsiders. Once discovered such an individual should be dismissed without hope of return, no matter

how clever or how highly connected he may be. A Sodality without union will not live.

Those who are listless and indifferent, who drift from good to evil, from evil to good, according to circumstances, who have no convictions and no manhood, should also be excluded, for they will only delay the march as an excess of baggage does an army.

Should those be excluded who have real piety, whose manners are gentle, who are regular in their habits, but who will add nothing to the prestige of the Sodality or to its outside influence? This case presents itself particularly in Little Seminaries, where there is a large number of pupils, prepared from away back for the priesthood, precisely because of the above named qualities. It would seem difficult to exclude them all. They gave what they had, and will find perhaps in the Sodality what they lack. True; but it ought to be kept in mind and they ought to know that the initiative and enterprising spirit is essential in the society; that without it one is not a perfect Sodalist, nor will he be a perfect priest. If they are admitted it should, as long as they remain what they are, keep them more as ornamental appendages than useful instruments. They should not be allowed any important charge.

On the other hand, if I meet with a merry lad, even if he is sometimes a little too joyous, a rogue of a fellow without wickedness, well regarded by his comrades, and estimable, moreover, for his natural uprightness, of solid faith and good will, I would not hesitate not to open the door wide to him, but to suggest to him to perfect a little some of his good qualities, so as to deserve in time to be admitted. That kind of material has furnished excellent Sodalists and model prefects.

Another suggestion. The Congress I have frequently referred to observes that in the choice of Sodalists regard

must be had to the moral rather than to the intellectual qualities, but that in general the latter do not interfere with the prestige of the society. It should rather be said that they augment it in the eyes of the students and that often in the important offices intellectual ability is highly desirable. No matter how virtuous our Sodalists may be, those who have won brilliant scholastic triumphs may in some circumstances find it hard to accept the authority of a Prefect whose mental ability is not up to the level of his virtue and zeal. Ordinary individuals may be pardoned for not having superior gifts; their absence in a leader will jar because the highest rank seems to demand every good quality.

This last observation leads us naturally to the subject of the Director, about whom we have already said something. We shall end with him. After all he is the alpha and the omega of the Sodality.

What are the qualities desirable in him? First everything a good priest should have; for the government of souls, even of young souls, is the art of arts. But among them there are some which are indispensable.

The first is one which can replace all the others, but which no other can replace. It is devotedness. The direction of a Sodality of young men is not one of those things that can be done by halves, or at odd moments, or by way of distraction from other occupations. It is a holy and a sacred task which it would be better not to touch if there is no intention of putting in it one's whole heart and soul. This requisite may lead far in its consequences and impose many a sacrifice, but be persuaded that your spiritual children will go just as far in perfection as you do in devotedness. It is you who will set the pace. If the perspective is startling let me say that the further you stretch the limit the less you will regret it one day; for

your sweet reward will be that of the farmer who in the joy of the harvest forgets all the toil and trouble he has passed through.

I do not see, a young Director may say, that the work has anything very startling in it. In the first place I intend to give my regular weekly instruction, which will not be too long and will not bore them.

Very good. On what subjects?

That will depend on the inspiration of the moment.

You will speak extempore?

Yes, thank God, I have some facility that way.

And what you say will be practical?

Oh! practical! They have enough of preaching outside of the Sodality, poor fellows; I will interest them.

Of course; but I suppose it will be while instructing them.

Certainly.

Especially on their duties as Sodalists?

Yes.

As indicated in their rules?

Their rules? I have only a vague idea about them.

You ought to study them deeply.

That means work.

But very useful work. You will find there the real spirit of the organization, which it is indispensable for you yourself to be well acquainted with, so as to instruct them.

The second work——

But wait if you please.

Can not be performed extempore. The subject requires to be prepared well and developed methodically in a series of instructions perfectly adapted to your subject and to the needs of your hearers; in which you will explain clearly the reasons and practice of each point.

I am beginning to feel alarmed——

From time to time you may interrupt the series, whenever a festival of the Church or a more than usually important occurrence supervenes, which may afford an opportunity to enlighten or stimulate their piety, their good will, their love of duty, their zeal. You will certainly find in your heart on all these points most interesting and useful things to say on condition that you know what is adapted to each and every one of them individually and as a body.

How shall I know that? The thing seemed to me extremely simple a moment ago.

The way is to live every day and every moment of the day from one year's end to the other the life of your Sodalists, and to identify yourself with all the successive needs of their souls. From that uninterrupted intercommunication there will result in them a feeling of confidence and a ready docility, and in the Spiritual Father a pure and strong affection which divines instinctively not only the suffering but the remedy that will heal it.

But I hear their confessions regularly. Is not that enough to direct them and lead them on the right path?

Some people think so, but they are mistaken. In the sacred secret of the confessional there is a question of absolution; in the less solemn secret of personal intercourse there is what is properly called direction. That is exercised in familiar conversation, where you gain their filial confidence and where your encouragement and reprimands will be equally well received. There are certain reserved characters which unbend only in such conversations. If the Director is approachable and simple, open and discreet, wise and zealous, it is then he will win hearts, will penetrate into the souls of his young men, will arouse and guide their good resolutions, will teach the feeble how to fight and the strong large hearted-

ness for God and the neighbor. Either separately or in council he will summon his officers or his more energetic members to discuss the means of doing good either in their immediate surroundings or in the works of charity undertaken by the Sodality. With proper prudence he might induce the more active to organize a special group which will be regulated by particular statutes to devote themselves, for example, under his direction to convert or encourage some of the fellow pupils who are weak or faint-hearted, or to sustain in all circumstances authority, purity and charity. Numberless pious plans may be formulated in these meetings for the good of the entire college.

All that is very fine, it may be urged, but will not this be encroaching on the domain of college government?

Possibly some Prefect who is very young and jealous of his authority may complain, but you can let him understand that there is no danger for his authority—which no one dreams of questioning—and that while you are laboring in the spiritual domain and promoting a good spirit among the students you are working for him. If he has any sense he will thank you and unite his efforts with yours. Every one will be the gainer. The same for the professors; they, too, will understand that the good influence of a Director will turn to the advantage of themselves and their pupils, and that any jealousy of him would be a most egregious blunder. Moreover, Superiors are always there to decide any dispute, but I trust you will be rarely obliged to appeal to them, and to run the risk of compromising your authority and theirs. It is a thousand times better to have that understanding which is gained by mutual and sincere consideration for each other's aims and duties. But above all things, in your relation with your colleagues and superiors keep intact the distinction between matters of spiritual direction

and those of pure discipline, and never by any act or word let the students suspect that you can be guilty of indiscretion; otherwise they will lose their trust in you and all your zeal will fail to heal the wound you have inflicted.

But if even to be a passable sort of a Director a union of unusual qualities is required, what is a man to do who hasn't them?

They will come to you with time, if you sincerely and in God love the young souls entrusted to you; if you pray very much, and—let this be my last advice—if you are a saint or at least if you want to be.

I cannot better bring this letter to an end and sum it up, my dear friend, than by calling your attention to some of the resolutions formulated at Rome on December, 1904, in the closing session of the Marial Congress, under the form of recommendations to the Directors of Sodalities of the Blessed Virgin. Without being of obligation, they are of very great value.

"1st. The Director will keep always in view that the ultimate purpose of every Marial Association is the true perfection of Christian life; and he will shape all his direction towards that object by adapting it to the special character of his association.

"2d. He will endeavor to establish among the members a special circle who make a more explicit profession of their purpose of perfection, so that their conduct will be an example and an encouragement to others.

"3d. To correspond to the particular needs of the present day, he should inspire the members with that apostolic spirit which each ought to cultivate according to his opportunities in his family, in school, everywhere, in fact, by word and chiefly by example.

"4th. The Director will arrange to have the members aggregated to some of those societies which exercise a more extensive apostolic activity, such as the Third

Orders, Catechisms, Patronages, Catholic Associations, wherever they exist, and where they do not to organize and develop them. The example of the Sodality of St. Achéul proves that even in boarding colleges it is possible to exercise the zeal of the Sodalists and to prepare them for the more extensive works which await them outside.

"5th. Let the young men who belong to Catholic Associations join some Marial Association, in order to obtain the means of strengthening themselves in Christian life."

The last article seems to have been inspired by an expression of the Holy Father Pius X, when he received the Italian Congress of Sodalists of the Blessed Virgin in solemn audience on September 7, 1904, and which was addressed especially to young Sodalists:

"Before entering upon any work, young men who are naturally caught by what is novel and fancy at times that they see as through a brilliant glass a new star which has appeared to them, should have recourse to the good sense of their elders and profit by their experience. Sodalities of the Blessed Virgin afford them such opportunities."

Then looking round paternally at the pious assembly, which included men of every age and condition, he added these words, which are full of comfort for Directors, both those of the past and those of the future:

"I congratulate you all, each and every one, children, young men, workingmen, students and men of mature age who have given your name to the Sodalities of the Blessed Virgin, because I see in you a chosen battalion of true Christians, men who are fervent and ready for any sacrifice with the help of the Blessed Mother and under the protection of the Almighty Power of God."

PIERRE BRUCKER,
Etudes.

